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The History of Ancient Egypt

Course Guidebook

Professor Bob Brier
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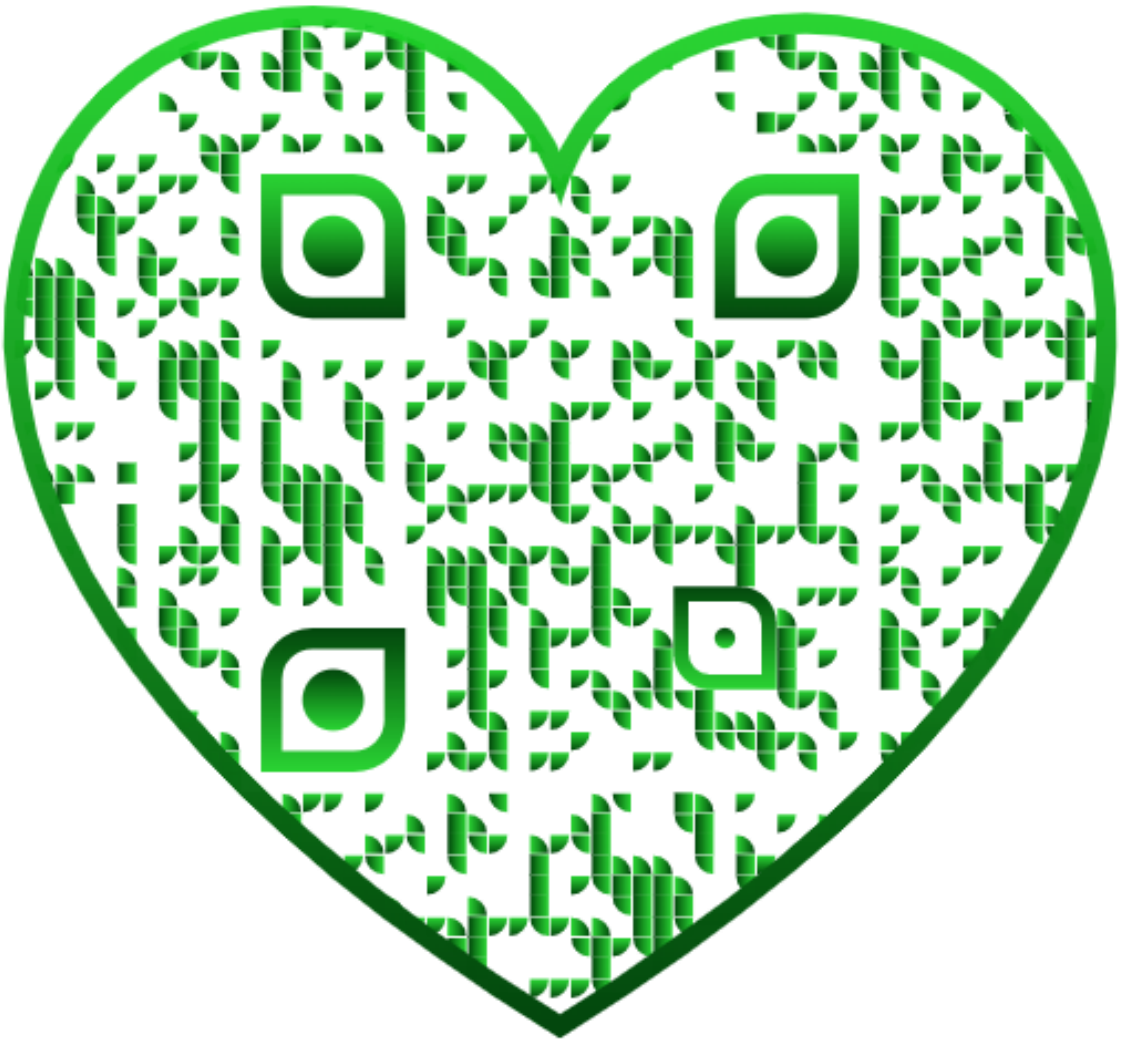

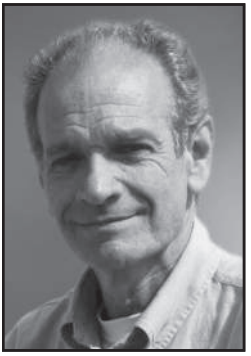

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Professor Bob Brier was born in the Bronx, where he still lives. He received his bachelor's degree from Hunter College and Ph.D. in philosophy from the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill in 1970.

From 1981–1996 he was Chairman of the Philosophy Department at C.W. Post campus of Long Island University and now primarily teaches Egyptology courses. He was Director of the National Endowment for the Humanities' Egyptology Today Program and has twice been selected as a Fulbright Scholar. He is also the recipient of the David Newton Award for Teaching Excellence.

In 1994, Dr. Brier became the first person in 2,000 years to mummify a human cadaver in the ancient Egyptian style. This research was the subject of a National Geographic television special, *Mr. Mummy*. Dr. Brier is also the host of The Learning Channel's series *The Great Egyptians*.

Professor Brier is the author of *Ancient Egyptian Magic* (Morrow: 1980), *Egyptian Mummies* (Morrow: 1994), *Encyclopedia of Mummies* (Facts on File: 1998), *The Murder of Tutankhamen*: *A True Story* (Putnam's: 1998), *Daily Life in Ancient Egypt* (Greenwood: 1999), and numerous scholarly articles. ■

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Scope:

There is something about ancient Egypt that fascinates almost everyone. Egyptian exhibits at museums draw the largest crowds, mummy movies pull in the largest audiences, and Egypt attracts the most tourists. Part of the attraction is undoubtedly the exotic nature of the beast. Treasures hidden in tombs seem always just around the corner; hieroglyphs, while beautiful, seem impossible to read; and the beautiful sculptures and paintings seem from a time incredibly long ago. In a sense, one goal of this course is to demystify ancient Egypt but not to take the fun out of it.

As we learn more and more about Egypt, it will all become familiar. Students will have an idea of how hieroglyphs work and what they say; we will come to know how archaeologists, using scholarship and learning, search for undiscovered tombs; and we will learn the techniques used to create the art of ancient Egypt. But as we learn more and more, the student should become more and more amazed by the culture. What was created on the banks of the Nile was an event unique in human history. No civilization lasted so long, contributed so much, or repeatedly amazed as did ancient Egypt.

Because Egyptian history lasted so long, Egyptologists divide it into three periods called *Kingdoms*: (1) The Old Kingdom saw the beginnings of nationhood for Egypt under one supreme ruler, the pharaoh. During this period, the pyramids were built, and the rules of Egyptian art were established that would govern for 3,000 years. (2) The Middle Kingdom, a period of stabilizing after the Old Kingdom collapsed, saw a nation fighting to regain its greatness. (3) The New Kingdom, the glamour period of ancient Egypt, was when all the stars—Hatshepsut, Tutankhamen, Ramses the Great, and others—appeared.

We will chronologically survey the full 3,000 years of recorded ancient Egyptian history, emphasizing that the ancient Egyptians were people just like ourselves, motivated by the same fears, doubts, and hopes. By the end of the course, students should feel that they know the kings and queens who

made Egypt great. As we study the different reigns, we will also discuss various aspects of Egyptian civilization so that you should learn far more than just the rulers of ancient Egypt. You should be able to walk through the Egyptian collection of a museum and tell when a statue was carved, have an idea which pharaoh it is by the way the face is carved, and perhaps even be able to read the hieroglyphs to discern the king's name. In short, I want to turn out "junior Egyptologists," people with a deep understanding of Egypt, for whom ancient artifacts will not all look the same.

To a great extent, the fun of history is in the details. Knowing what kind of wine Tutankhamen preferred makes him come alive. Knowing that Ramses the Great was crippled by arthritis for the last decade of his long life makes us more sympathetic to the boastful monarch who fathered more than 100 children. If we understand what it was like to be a miner sent to the turquoise mines in the Sinai in the summer, we will feel a kinship with our long dead counterparts. As we wind our way chronologically through 30 centuries of history, we will pause repeatedly to look at the details that make up the big picture.

The first five lectures will really be a prolegomena. We will see what Egypt was like before writing, and we will learn how Egyptologists piece together the history of ancient Egypt. We will see how we know what we know—how hieroglyphs were deciphered, for example—and we will see that since then, Egyptology has been one ongoing detective story.

In Lectures 6–10, we will see the Egyptians rise to a greatness far surpassing any other people in the Near East. We learn of a king who united Egypt by might and of a pharaoh who showed Egypt how to build the pyramids. While we see how the pyramids were built, we will learn just what it was that made Egypt great. At the end of these lectures, we see Egypt collapse into a dark age about which little is known, and we try to figure out what happened.

Lectures 11–16 discuss Egypt's successful attempt to pull itself together, only to collapse once again. We see heroic kings from the south battle to unite the country and establish a peace that would last for two centuries—as long as the United States has existed. Then we see Egypt invaded by the mysterious people called the Hyksos, only to watch as the kings of the south battle Egypt

back to greatness. We will also look in detail at the Old Testament story of Joseph in Egypt to see what light it might shed on this period.

Lectures 17–25 deal with the fabulous Dynasty XVIII, the period of Egypt's greatest wealth and personalities. We will take in-depth looks at the kings and queens of this period. We see Hatshepsut, the woman who ruled as king; Akhenaten, the first monotheist in history, who changed the religion of Egypt; and Tutankhamen, the son of Akhenaten, who became the most famous of Egypt's kings when his undisturbed tomb was discovered in 1922.

Lectures 26–28 are a brief excursion into my specialty, mummies. We will talk about everything you ever wanted to know about mummies, including how to make one. We will also see that mummies are like books—packed with information—if you know how to read them.

Lectures 29–35 focus on the end of the New Kingdom, the last great epoch of Egyptian history. Dominated by Ramses the Great, this period also had other important kings, and we will discuss who was the unnamed pharaoh of the Exodus.

In Lectures 36–41, we will see Egypt's greatness slipping away. Egypt will be invaded by a series of conquering peoples, including Nubians, Libyans, and Persians. It is a sad story, and we will examine the causes of Egypt's decline.

Egypt's last gasp is under the Greek kings, the Ptolemies. This period begins with the conquest of Alexander the Great and ends with Cleopatra. For 200 years, once mighty Egypt is ruled by kings named Ptolemy, all descended from General Ptolemy who served under Alexander. In Lectures 42–47, we will trace what life was like for an Egyptian under the oppressive rule of their Greek masters.

It is a long and fascinating history, but the study of Egypt should not end with this course. There will be suggestions of how to continue learning about Egypt—societies to join, events to attend, books to read. The adventure should not end here. ■

Introduction

Lecture 1

Egypt is a wonderful place to go when you're tired of the real world, when things get too busy, when things are too hectic. Egypt is a place far, far away in time and space.

Why should we study ancient Egypt? There is something very special about Egypt—it is an attractive escape from our everyday world. Egypt is the most advanced ancient civilization in history. Its accomplishments include monumental architecture (the pyramids), medical science, monotheism, and mummification. Even if the hieroglyphs are decipherable, Egypt remains one of the most mysterious civilizations in history. Finally, Egyptian art is among the most beautiful of all time.

There are various approaches to Egyptology. For example, the philological approach—that of Sir Alan Gardiner—studies the language. The art

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Great Sphinx.

historical approach looks at ancient Egypt through its art; Egyptian art maintains great continuity for 3,000 years, subscribing to eternal values rather than creativity and innovation. The historical approach looks at Egypt through events and documents, often in relation to Egypt's neighbors; this is my approach.

We will emphasize people and their achievements in an effort to make the dead come alive.

Art and literature reveal much about this civilization. Tomb paintings tell us about the Egyptians' belief in the afterlife and tombs were provisioned with an amazing variety of everyday objects. Temple walls give us histories, such as records of battles and lists of kings. We also have religious texts on papyrus, wood, and stone. The Book of the Dead reveals what Egyptians thought about the next world. Literature, especially fiction and love poetry, gives us additional insight into the beliefs of the Egyptians. Herodotus, the Greek historian from the 5th century B.C., provides further observations of Egypt, even if they aren't always reliable.

In this course we will emphasize people and their achievements in an effort to make the dead come alive. The course will be chronological, ending with Cleopatra, and will include a few detours along the way. One such detour will be my specialty, paleopathology. Dates will be minimally important—you're not going to remember them anyway. The relative chronology of events is what matters.

The course has several goals. The first goal is to gain an understanding of Egyptian history, architecture, religion, and mythology. The second goal is to increase your appreciation of the art of ancient Egypt. Finally, the third goal is to motivate you to continue learning after the course is over. ■

Prehistoric Egypt

Lecture 2

"Prehistoric." It's literally "before history." What that means is "before writing." So it's not a term that covers the whole world at the same time. Writing comes into Egypt about 3200 B.C. So after 3200 B.C. Egypt is out of prehistoric times, but England is still in prehistoric times. It depends on the culture. It's a relative term.

How old is "old"? In the 17th century, the Bishop of Usher's biblical estimate set the beginning of the world at 4004 B.C. The argument against fossils and evolution—the battle against prehistoric study—was eventually challenged by both data and theory. In 1859, excavations in England revealed Stone-Age tools and bones of extinct animals. In the same year, Charles Darwin published *The Origin of the Species*, a book that suggested a far more distant point of origin for mankind than the Bishop of Usher had posited. A century later, archaeologist Louis Leaky's Olduvai Gorge excavation discovered a hominid (manlike) fossil that was 1.75 million years old—and some have proposed that hominids are even older.

The distant human past is conventionally divided into three ages: the Paleolithic, or Old Stone Age, when humans existed as hunter-gatherers; the Mesolithic, a transition stage; and the Neolithic, or New Stone Age, when plants and animals were first domesticated. Let's begin with the several stages of the Paleolithic.

The Early Paleolithic Age dates from 700,000–70,000 B.C., when Homo Erectus lived. The earliest Egyptian habitation was circa 700,000 B.C. These people perhaps migrated from the south along the Nile Valley. The climate supported fauna as found today on the Serengeti Plain—giraffes, gazelles, hippopotami. The first human inhabitants used language, gathered food, used the hand axe, and perhaps controlled fire. The axe was flaked, fit nicely in the hand, and was the only tool for 70,000 years.

The Early Middle Paleolithic, 70,000–43,000 B.C., was the time of Neanderthal man. Neanderthals were not "brute savages." They buried their

dead in caves and cared for the injured and old. Neanderthals developed a flaking technique that provided smaller, better-formed tools, such as scrapers and daggers. Many have been found in the desert—Egypt was more moist at the time.

Homo Sapiens appeared during the Late Middle Paleolithic Age, from 43,000–30,000 B.C. Modern man, Homo Sapiens, replaced rather than evolved from the Neanderthal. The average life expectancy during this time was less than 30 years.

The Late Paleolithic Age lasted from 30,000–10,000 B.C. During this period, the Nile was declining; people lived by swamps (malaria was a problem). Their settlements had clay hearths on which they cooked, grindstones for grinding wild cereal grains, and pigments for eye make-up. There was no farming or cattle breeding. Tools were now fashioned from quartz and diorite, as well as from flint and obsidian. The development of the bow, the first weapon to store energy, along with the arrow, made hunting safer and easier. The development of the sickle was an indication that plants were becoming important for food. An intensive caring for plants may indicate an early experiment in farming, but this was not yet domestication. However, sickles disappear for a couple of thousand years. This may indicate that early attempts at farming failed, perhaps because the climate changed or hunting became more efficient.

Relative dating is not absolute and, thus, is subject to variation.

The Mesolithic Period dates from 10,000–5,000 B.C. Some changes seen during the Mesolithic Period include the appearance of cosmetics for ritual use; ostrich eggshells were used for cooking in the north, whereas in the south (Sudan), pottery was developed; the human groups were very isolated, and each may have spoken its own dialect.

The Neolithic Age dates from 5,000–3,200 B.C. During this period pottery was developed in the north; agriculture was introduced—grains were cooked, beer was brewed. Settlements grew up along the Nile, and the first signs of kingship appeared in both the north (Lower Egypt) and the south (Upper

Egypt). This was the beginning of Egyptian civilization. The population was about 2,000 people. The dead were buried, with possessions, in sand-pit burials. Carved palettes, some adorned with decorative art, were used for grinding cosmetics. This was a culture capable of more than just surviving.

Different kinds of dating establish the antiquity of ancient Egypt. Relative dating is not absolute and, thus, is subject to variation. For example, Sir Flinders Petrie's insight was that the more highly decorated pottery is newer—things evolve from the simple to the complex. Stratigraphy records layers during excavations—the higher excavations are newer. Absolute dating is based on scientific examination. Carbon-14 dating is Dr. Willard Libby's discovery. All living things have the same proportion of C-14, with a half-life of 5,730 years. At death, organic material starts to decay into C-12 and nitrogen-14. Problems with this method include contamination, such as the reuse of old wood in new houses. Carbon-14 dating can be used neither for very old samples (too little C-14 remains), nor for nonliving things, such as stones and metals. Paleobotany and paleozoology are, respectively, the studies of plant and animal remains. Properly studied, pollen and bones can reveal the flora and fauna of a distant period. ■

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The second gold coffin of King Tutankhamen.

Suggested Reading

Michael Hoffman, *Egypt Before the Pharaohs*.

Questions to Consider

1. What was the rate of progress like in prehistoric Egypt?

2. How do we figure out what life was like in a preliterate society?

Ancient Egyptian Thought

Lecture 3

Mythology, religion, and philosophy all try to answer the same kinds of questions. They answer non-empirical questions, questions that you can't answer by looking, seeing, observing.

Mythology, religion, and philosophy try to answer the "big" ones that science can't answer. Is there life after death? How did the universe begin (before the Big Bang)? Is there a God? Mythology contains stories that are not to be taken literally but answer basic questions about the nature of the universe. Myths have a message, then, but can't be taken literally. Unlike religion, mythology takes place in primordial time, outside of chronology or calendar time.

The basic Egyptian myth described the primordial eight gods—the Ogdoad—in the primordial waters. These gods came in pairs: Hok and Hoket represent formlessness; Kuk and Kuket are darkness; Amun and Amunet are hiddenness; and Nun and Nunet are the primordial waters. Together, the eight gods represent Chaos and are often depicted with the heads of frogs.

The primordial hill rises out of these waters. Atum, a god, stood on that hill. He created himself, then generated the other gods. The Ennead added an additional nine elemental Egyptian gods. This is quite different from Genesis and the four basic elements of the Greeks. Atum's children were Shu (air) and Tefnut (moisture). Shu and Tefnut begat Geb (earth) and Nut (sky). Geb and Nut give birth to two pairs, each of them sister and brother and wife and husband: Isis and Osiris and Seth and Nephthys. Although Seth is evil, the three others are elementally good.

Central to the Egyptian belief in life after death were Isis and Osiris. Isis and Osiris descend to earth to civilize Egypt. While Osiris goes to teach the rest of the world how to be civilized, Isis keeps her evil brother Seth in check. Seth tricks Osiris into climbing into what will become his coffin, nails the coffin shut, then throws it in the Nile. After Osiris dies, Isis journeys to Byblos to recover her husband's body and returns to Egypt to bury it properly. Seth

finds the body of Osiris and hacks it into 13 pieces, scattering them over the Nile. Isis and Nephthys find all the pieces except the phallus and reassemble Osiris. Isis breathes life into her husband, and he is resurrected—the first person to resurrect, the first "mummy." Osiris becomes the God of the Dead; his story is the original lesson in the importance of staying at home and remaining whole. Henceforth, it will be important to be buried on Egyptian soil and to be buried complete, both prerequisites for resurrection. Isis gives birth to Horus, who defeats his Uncle Seth in battle. Horus loses his eye in the struggle, which is magically regenerated. Seth, however, doesn't die: evil will always be with us.

Could such an advanced civilization have been ignorant of philosophy?

In religion, by contrast, the concept of belief is essential. Religion includes stories believed to be historical, such as the account of Moses in the Bible, that take place in chronological time. Philosophy deals with the same questions as religion does. Unlike religion, however, philosophy requires a proof based on logic. The answers to the great philosophical questions are not matters of opinion but facts that are unknown. It's not that the great questions are relative, but that we don't, given our limited perspective, have answers to them. Did the universe have no beginning, or did it begin from nothing? Such philosophical questions are important, but whether the Egyptians "did" philosophy per se is not revealed to us in their documents. Could such an advanced civilization have been ignorant of philosophy? Perhaps they simply refused to commit it to papyrus. ■

Suggested Reading

Erik Hornung, *Conceptions of God in Ancient Egypt*.

Sigfried Morenz, *Egyptian Religion*.

Questions to Consider

1. How do religion, mythology, and philosophy differ?

2. Did the Egyptians "do" philosophy?

Napoleon and the Beginnings of Egyptology

Lecture 4

Napoleon's campaign in Egypt ... led to the beginning of modern Egyptology.

Napoleon Bonaparte had several reasons to go to Egypt. Napoleon didn't want to invade England, as the French government wanted, so he invaded Egypt instead hoping to cut off England's land route to India. What was known about Egypt when Napoleon invaded? Hieroglyphs were a dead language, so Egyptian history was unknown. There was no systematic study or collection of objects, merely cabinets of curiosities and missionaries' reports. Richard Pococke and Frederik Norden, sea captains, were early visitors to Egypt but untrained as observers. A scholar himself, Bonaparte assembled an all-star team of 150 scientists and artists for his campaign including Dominique-Vivant Denon who was an artist who became the first director of the Louvre; Claude Louis Berthollet who was Napoleon's chemist; Geoffroy Saint-Hilairew who was a brilliant young zoologist; Nicolas Conte who had the ability to manufacture anything; and other exceptional men who rounded out an extraordinary team.

In spite of all the intellectual baggage, there was a war to fight. The Mamelukes, once bought as slaves, had become a warrior caste that tyrannized Egypt. Bonaparte promised to liberate the Egyptians, going so far as to issue proclamations that were the first printed documents in Arabic. At the Battle of the Pyramids, East met the modern West for the first time. The Mameluke cavalry charged the French army, massed together in squares. The French won the battle decisively.

The Battle of the Nile was Napoleon's first setback. British admiral Horatio Nelson's impatience led to victory for the English. The French were anchored near the shore, their guns aimed seaward. Nelson daringly cut between ships and shore and attacked the French from the rear. The French ship *L'Orient*, the largest in the world, suddenly exploded, a sound heard 20 miles away. Many scientific instruments were lost when the ships went down, a blow to the expedition. Even worse, the French were cut off from supplies coming

from the European mainland. Plague began to take its toll on the French during the siege of Acre, a fort on the Mediterranean. Napoleon suddenly deserted his troops and returned to France, declaring himself the "conqueror" of Egypt.

The very first document ever published in Arabic in Egypt was Napoleon's proclamation.

Ultimately it was this campaign that gave birth to modern Egyptology. Scientists published the *Description de l'Egypte*, 10 volumes full of drawings and illustrations. The Egyptian fad in furnishings and fashion was soon all the rage in Europe. Napoleon instructed his men to copy the hieroglyphs *exactly*. This would turn out to be one of the most lasting accomplishments of the campaign. Collections of antiquities and natural history were systematically framed.

England, the victor, agreed by treaty that the French could retain all the discoveries of the campaign—except the antiquities. The most important of these was the Rosetta stone, which turned out to be the key to deciphering the hieroglyphs. Scholars immediately knew it was crucial—the inscription appeared in both Greek and Egyptian. Although the French tried to retain it, today the Rosetta stone is in the British Museum instead of the Louvre because of this treaty. ■

Suggested Reading

Bob Brier, *The Glory of Ancient Egypt*.

J. Christopher Herold, *Bonaparte in Egypt*.

Questions to Consider

1. Why did Bonaparte go to Egypt?

2. What were the contributions to Egyptology that came out of the Egyptian campaign?

The Rosetta Stone, and Much More

Lecture 5

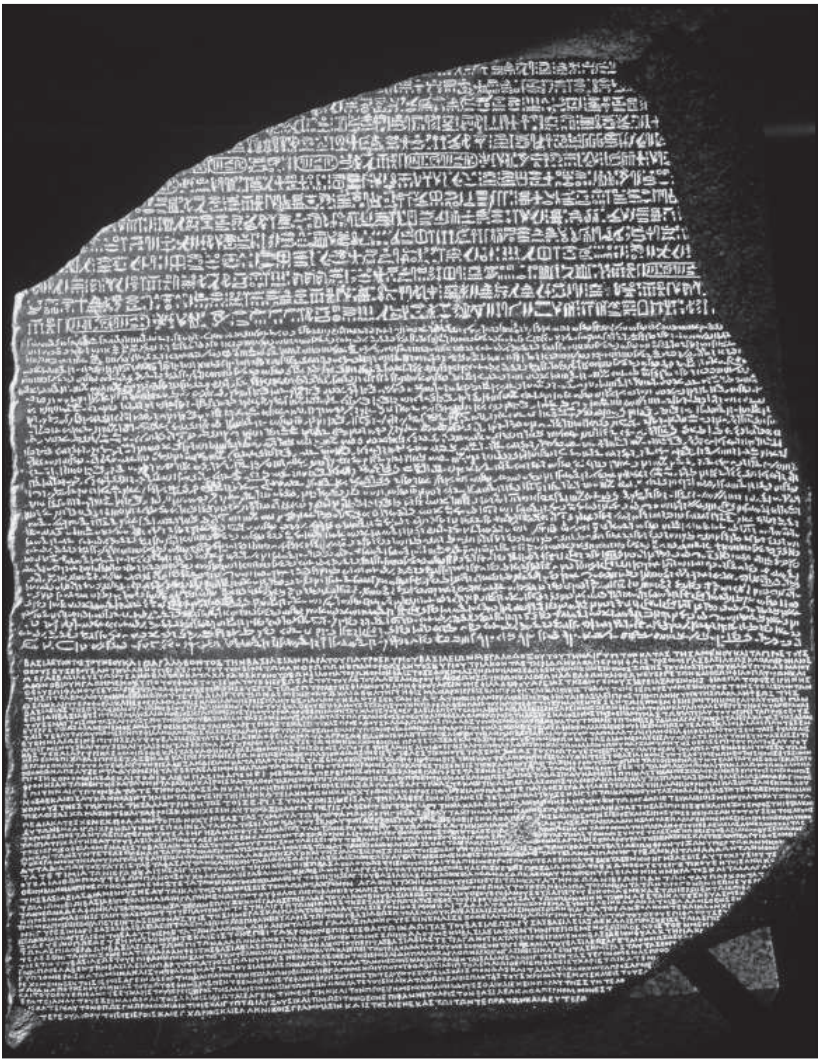
After 425 A.D. no one could read ancient Egyptian records. And it remained a dead language; it remained a dead language for over a thousand years.

Ancient Egyptian was a dead language. Because Egypt had long been occupied by foreigners, including the Greeks and Romans, the ancient written language had expired. It remained dead for over 1,000 years. The central assumption was that the ancient language was ideographic, not alphabetic. But this was wrong. The ancient Greek writer Horapollo correctly asserted that the mysterious symbols represented something other than what they depicted, although he was wrong in other matters. The Rosetta stone was the key to decipherment.

The stone was found in the foundations of a fort at Rosetta and is stela-shaped, like a tombstone. Stelae were carved stones with inscriptions that were placed like bulletin boards in front of temples. The stone contained three scripts (hieroglyphic, demotic, and Greek) but only two languages (Greek and Egyptian). The hieroglyphic script was used for sacred texts. More efficient than hieroglyphs, demotic was a script the people wrote. Greek, the third script, was the language of the rulers of Egypt during the period that the stone was composed. The significance of its appearance on the stone was realized immediately through the last line: "Written in sacred and native and Greek characters." Hieratic was not on the Rosetta stone but was a cursive, shorthand form of hieroglyphs. Coptic, an ancient form of Egyptian spelled out in the Greek alphabet, was not on the Rosetta stone either but was instrumental in deciphering it.

The Rosetta stone was taken by the British in 1801. Contrary to popular belief, it is reddish granite, not black basalt. The stone's decipherment was the product of several minds. Thomas Young, an English physician, correctly concluded that the sign for "Ptolemy," for example, was phonetic—that an alphabet, not an ideogram, was at work. Jean Francois Champollion, a Frenchman who knew Coptic, translated the message in 1822 through his

knowledge of ancient Egyptian sounds. Coptic, then, proved to be our connection with spoken ancient Egyptian.



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The key to deciphering hieroglyphics, the Rosetta stone contains only two languages, Greek and Egyptian.

The ancient Egyptian language works on several levels and there are several kinds of hieroglyphs. Hieroglyphs can be phonetic, like our alphabet. In ancient Egyptian, a rectangle represents a *p*; a hand represents a *d*. As in many ancient languages, there were no vowels. Determinatives clarify the meaning of such phonetic words. They are placed at the end of a word as an ideographic reminder. Ideograms, or pictorial writing, represent concepts. These images were a shorthand version of hieroglyphs. Hieroglyphs could be written left to right, right to left, or top to bottom. For purposes of symmetry, which the Egyptians admired, the language was thus very flexible. You can easily write your own name in hieroglyphs through transliteration. ■

Egyptians had also, they had different forms of writing, and on the Rosetta stone are three different scripts

Suggested Reading

Mark Collier and Bill Manley, *How to Read Hieroglyphs*.

Stephen Quirke and Carol Andrews, *The Rosetta Stone*.

Questions to Consider

1. What three scripts are on the Rosetta stone?

2. Why did ancient Egyptian become a dead language?

The First Nation in History

Lecture 6

The Narmer palette, which is what I call the first historical document in the world ... tells of the unification of Egypt.

Egypt was originally divided into separate kingdoms: Upper and Lower Egypt. By 3200 B.C., they appear to have been ruled by different kings. The crown was a symbol of royal power. In the south (Upper Egypt), it was white and conical in shape; in the north (Lower Egypt), it was red with a peak at the back. No crown has ever been found for the two kingdoms. The crowns were believed to have magical powers. It was the one thing that a pharaoh couldn't take with him to the next world.

Egypt was united from the separate kingdoms into one nation about 3150 B.C., when King Narmer from the south conquered the north. The Narmer Palette, the world's first historical document (3150 B.C.), was discovered north of Aswan in 1897. A ceremonial palette made of slate, it was not intended for cosmetic use in daily life. It may have been used to grind cosmetics for offerings at a shrine to the gods. The Narmer Palette shows the beginning of writing, the first real hieroglyphs. Artistic conventions appear: The king was portrayed as the symbol of Egypt, and hierarchical proportions were used to distinguish kings from commoners. The palette contains a complete story. Narmer, wearing the white crown and holding a mace in one hand, is about to smite his enemy, whom he is holding by the hair with the other hand. That enemy may have been the king of the north.

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Ramses II.

The enemy has a ring through his nose that is tied by a string to the falcon, symbol of the pharaoh. "Registration" is recognizable on the palette—figures stand on defined planes or registers, rather than float haphazardly.

On the other side of the palette, we have the conclusion of the story. In the victory procession, we see the red crown on Narmer—representing the unification of Egypt—and the headless enemies vanquished by the new king. Beneath Narmer are two fantastic beasts. Perhaps the intertwined necks of the beasts—panthers or leopards—are a symbol of the unification of Egypt. Beneath them is a fortress being broken down by a bull, another symbol of Narmer.

The palette was probably carved by two different people, one doing each side. After all, the figures on each side are done in different styles. We may, in fact, have been reading the two sides in the wrong order, a mystery for future Egyptologists to ponder. Why is the palette so important? For the story it tells. Now Egypt has a single king, a god on earth, Horus on earth. Other ancient nations had kings but not kings that were gods.

There are important benefits of a unified Egypt, as Narmer became the first king of the First Dynasty. The all-powerful ruler, from Egypt to Plato's *Republic* to Thomas Hobbes's *Leviathan*, can do great things. (We give up our rights to a strong central government so that we will be safe.) Egypt, beginning with Narmer, could now rule the entire Mideast. A standing army was possible, because centralization focuses resources where they are needed most. The annual flooding of the Nile could now be turned to public advantage. Irrigation projects could be organized with large numbers of people working for the common good. Workers coaxed the Nile from its banks by irrigation ditches. Egypt was the first nation in history with a powerful centralized government. The government would collapse at times, but the people would always go back to the "divine order" of a centralized government ruled by a pharaoh. Such monuments as the pyramids were possible only because of a centralized government that facilitated the tradition of massive public works projects. The Egyptians used people, not beasts of burden, for large architectural undertakings. It would take just

a few hundred years after Narmer's conquest to begin the building of the great pyramids. ■

Suggested Reading

Peter Clayton, *Chronicle of the Pharaohs*, pp. 14–19.

Michael Rice, *Egypt's Making*, Chapter 3.

Questions to Consider

1. What is the story told by the Narmer Palette?

2. What are the advantages of nationhood?

The Rise of the Old Kingdom

Lecture 7

Up until the 19th century [the kings of the First Dynasty] were practically legendary. We didn't know anything about them. We had a couple of names but no monuments, no evidence that they really existed. As far as we knew, they could have been mythological. Then excavations at a city in the south, Abydos, revealed that they had tombs.

A capital will be established at Memphis in the north, and it all began with Narmer. Dynasty I (3035–2890 B.C.) included the earliest kings. Excavations at Abydos, in the south, revealed the tombs of the early kings. Hor-Aha founded Memphis, in the north, as a capital city. (*Egypt* actually derives from the local name for Memphis.) The location was crucial for strategic reasons: to guard against invasion from the sea, because invasion across the desert was too difficult. The kings of Dynasty I were buried at Abydos, the sacred city where Osiris was buried in the famous myth. These are simple underground mud-brick tombs of King Djer, Den, and others, which have been robbed.

Archeologist Flinders Petrie excavated these tombs in the late 19th century. To avoid looting, he paid his workers market value for their discoveries. (Other excavators tried to confiscate everything.) At one point, they found a detached mummy's arm in King Djer's tomb, wearing the oldest royal jewelry ever discovered. Petrie weighed it and paid for it in gold sovereigns. A curator in Cairo later threw away the arm and kept only the jewelry! Burials for kings were also at Saqqara, named for Sokar, god of the dead. Why two burials? One burial site was a false one, or cenotaph. Thus, the two represented a symbolic way of denoting power over the north and south. We're not sure, for certain pharaohs, which burial was the real one.

Dynasty II (2890–2686 B.C.) was a period as long as the history of the United States, but little is known of it. It was the succeeding dynasty, however, that established Egypt as a civilization of renown. Dynasty III (2686–2613 B.C.) was a time of greatness. Zoser (2686–2649 B.C.) was the first pyramid builder. He elaborated on the older burial practices of

Egypt. Sand-pit burials, originally used for the dead, were impermanent by nature, uncovered by wind and jackals in search of decomposing flesh. The Egyptians began removing sand to ground level and cutting into the rock to carve a tomb. They would erect a *mastaba*, or rectangular shelter, above the tomb. Imhotep, Zoser's architect, decided to stack mastaba on mastaba, creating a step effect; from the mastaba, the pyramid developed. The Step Pyramid of Saqqara, grand in size and conception, was the first

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Step pyramid built by Zoser, second king of the Dynasty II.

stone building in history, probably three or four times larger than any other building on the planet at the time. Next to the pyramid is a little room where Zoser included a small statue of himself. In case his body was destroyed, his soul could live there until he was resurrected. He also built chapels at the pyramid. The pyramid imitates reed construction techniques, only using stone. Here Zoser planned a complex intended for use as a courtyard for the *heb-sed* and other rituals. The heb-sed festival celebrated the rejuvenation of the aging pharaoh every 30 years. The tomb of Imhotep, the architect, is still missing. Zoser permitted him to be buried near his own tomb. Professor Walter B. Emery, close on the scent of finding it, died before it was discovered. Zoser also had a southern burial, just a couple of hundred yards away from the Step Pyramid. Tiles on the inside, made of the ceramic called *faience*, show him running a heb-sed festival.

Horus Sekhemkhet, Zoser's successor, ruled from 2649–2643 B.C. Sekhemkhet was going to build a Step Pyramid like Zoser's, but it was only a few meters high when he died. Its stone walls are still rough, so we know the blocks were not finished by workers until they were on site. The intact pyramid was discovered in 1951. The burial chamber was still sealed. Though a great discovery was expected, Sekhemkhet's stone sarcophagus turned out to be empty. Gold jewelry was found on the floor of the tomb but no body. Perhaps Sekhemkhet was buried in a second tomb, and the empty one was only a decoy for grave robbers. Unfortunately, the tomb robbers were usually the ones who built the tombs! We still haven't found the real tomb of Sekhemkhet. ■

The burials at Abydos are important because they established that these kings ... are real people. They lived; they walked the earth.

Suggested Reading

Peter Clayton, *Chronicle of the Pharaohs*, pp. 32–60.

Aidan Dodson, *Monarchs of the Nile*, Chapters IV and V.

Questions to Consider

1. What traditions were established during this early period?

2. How did pyramid building evolve from earlier buildings?

Sneferu, the Pyramid Builder

Lecture 8

It's really Sneferu who showed the world how to build pyramids—by trial and error, though. There were disasters, there were problems, but Sneferu just didn't give up.

Sneferu (2613–2589 B.C.) built several pyramids, a great architectural achievement. He was the first pharaoh we know of who carved his name in a cartouche. Meidum was his first attempt at a true pyramid. It looks more like a tower than a pyramid. A stepped pyramid was first built, the steps later filled in with limestone. But the limestone casing wasn't stable, and the pyramid seems to have been abandoned. There was a temple next to the pyramid. The pyramid's burial chamber, which had a vaulted ceiling, was the first to be built above ground. A corbelled ceiling in the chamber prevented collapse by distributing the weight of the huge stones in the pyramid. Two uninscribed stelae nearby, however, suggest that the pyramid was never used. Some graffiti for Sneferu can still be seen in the mortuary temple, the only hard evidence we have that it is his pyramid.

The Bent Pyramid of Dahshur was Sneferu's second pyramid. Why the bend? It starts out like Meidum at 54 degrees. The corners of the pyramid were built on unstable ground, so structural changes were necessary. The burial chamber was probably the greatest room in the world, with a spectacular vaulted ceiling that was 55 feet high. But there were problems—cracks formed because the pyramid was not stable at the corners. Cedar beams were used to brace the collapsing walls. The pyramid was quickly finished with a "bend" in the angle. This pyramid, nearly as large as the Great Pyramid at Giza, also had to be abandoned. A Valley Temple and causeway completed the complex. The Red Pyramid of Dahshur, a third pyramid, is Sneferu's burial place. Fully complete, it is the first large true pyramid.

Sneferu's international policies took him beyond the borders of Egypt. Cedars of Lebanon, obtained through trade, were needed for ships and temple doors. Wood was a scarce commodity in Egypt; thus, stone buildings were common. From river boats to sacred barques, ships were central to Egypt.

But Egyptians were not good sailors, spoiled as they were by the prevailing winds when sailing up the Nile or the current when sailing down it. They called the Mediterranean "the great green." A trip to Lebanon for cedars was a big matter.

Sneferu sent expeditions to Sinai to mine turquoise, an exotic commodity for jewelry. Inscriptions call Sneferu "Smiter of Barbarians" in the foreign territory. He had a large army to get what he wanted in the Sinai. There were many difficulties in mining: The organization for such a trip was considerable in itself, not to mention the demands made by the terrible summer heat. The Temple of Serabit el-Khadim was built like a mine on top of a mountain dedicated to Hathor, "Our Lady of Turquoise." Flinders Petrie excavated the temple and found a small sphinx, which he later buried for protection without ever marking where he put it.

The art of Sneferu's reign set standards for centuries to come. His wife had beautiful inlaid turquoise jewelry. The first great life-size portrait statues were sculpted during his reign. Those of Rahotep (high priest of Memphis)

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Bent pyramid at Dahshur, Cairo, Egypt.

and Nofret are masterpieces. Hemiunu, a pyramid architect and son of Sneferu, is depicted as fat, a sign of prosperity.

We also have the first personal anecdote about a king in the papyrus Westcar, in Berlin. The papyrus shows the first use of exotic fishnet clothing—young ladies in fishnet attire are described rowing Sneferu. One rowing girl loses her turquoise fish amulet. Sneferu calls a magician who parts the waters for him—centuries before Moses—and the king retrieves the amulet for the girl. The story is fictional but an indication nonetheless that he was an approachable pharaoh.

Perhaps his greatest legacy of all, Sneferu established a family tradition. He built the largest building in the history of the world to that time, the Bent Pyramid. But Sneferu wasn't deterred by failure, showing his people by example how to build a true pyramid. He showed Egypt how to be an international power and established artistic conventions. Khufu (Cheops), his son, who would build the Great Pyramid of Giza, was perhaps his most important legacy of all. ■

Suggested Reading

I. E. S. Edwards, *The Pyramids of Egypt*, Chapters 2 and 3.

Questions to Consider

1. What were the stages in the development of the true pyramid?

2. Other than pyramids, what were Sneferu's achievements?

The Great Pyramid of Giza

Lecture 9

The pyramid shape was an architectural development, almost an afterthought, almost an accident of the way tomb building was going. No one sat down and said, "Ooh, this has a magical shape—let's build a pyramid." It developed. It evolved.

Khufu (2589–2566 B.C.), or Cheops, as the Greeks called him, the son of Sneferu, built the Great Pyramid. The Great Pyramid is 480 feet high, the highest building in the world until the Eiffel Tower was built. The base covers 13 1/2 acres and is built of 2 1/2 million blocks, averaging 2.5 tons each. It required masses of labor and advanced social organization to build—but not higher mathematics.

The building of the pyramid is burdened with myth and legend. People talk about the magical power of the pyramidal shape. But its shape was more the result of evolving accidents than a sudden discovery. The pyramid was a tomb for the pharaoh; it wasn't a form that even the ancient Egyptians considered magical. Napoleon was said to have gone into the burial chamber alone and come out again ashen-faced, refusing to describe what he saw. Was he genuinely disturbed by the experience—or was he just creating the legend of Napoleonic greatness? Herodotus says 90,000 men at a time built the Great Pyramid in three-month stints, probably in the season when their fields were under water. When he says they used "machines" to build it, however, he's probably referring to levers. Contrary to popular belief, slaves didn't build the pyramid—the Exodus of the Israelites was much later. There were never large numbers of slaves doing public works in Egypt.

No architectural papyri exist explaining how to build temples or pyramids; it was apparently a trade secret. So how was the pyramid built? Workers cleared the sand down to bedrock. They probably built channels in the earth at the base and filled them with water until they had a level surface, much like the principle of a carpenter's level. The rock quarries were next to the pyramid, so moving stone over long distances was unnecessary. The pyramid has two entrances; visitors today enter by the one that robbers

created. The pyramid's original plan changed from a below-ground burial to a higher chamber. The Grand Gallery, a passageway to the burial chamber, is an engineering marvel: a 28-foot high, corbelled ceiling that goes all the way up the pyramid. Its function is unknown. The sarcophagus of Khufu is the only thing in the burial chamber. But it happens to be 2 inches wider than the doorway! It must have been placed there before the pyramid was finished, and the chamber was built around it. Relieving chambers were used instead of corbelling to remove the weight from the burial chamber ceiling.

The ancient Egyptians never wrote down how they built the pyramid. We have no papyrus at all that gives us a clue to how they built the pyramid.

How were the stones positioned at the top of the pyramid, by ramp or winding road? We know they used ramps elsewhere. Or they may have had the equivalent of a switchback. In the end, careful measurement, not higher mathematics, was "all" that was required for construction. Construction was completed within the 22 years of Khufu's reign. Overall, highly sophisticated social organization was needed for quarrying the stone, transporting the blocks, and feeding the workers.

Khufu buried a boat ("the Cheops boat") next to his pyramid. In 1954 a boat pit was discovered carved in the bedrock and covered with blocks. The boat, made of cedars of Lebanon, was broken down into pieces. It was later

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The pyramids of Giza.

reconstructed and found to be 150 feet long. Given that it had no mast fitting, it wasn't intended to sail. The oars were too small—model tests reveal that it wasn't rowed. It may have been a ritual boat to take the pharaoh to the next world. Or, it may have been used—only once—to convey the body of Cheops from the east to the west bank of the Nile. I'm attempting to build a full-scale replica of the boat and put it on the Nile. ■

Suggested Reading

I. E. S. Edwards, *The Pyramids of Egypt*, Chapter 3.

Questions to Consider

1. What was the interior of the Great Pyramid like?

2. Which was more essential in building the Great Pyramid, technology or organizational skills?

The End of the Old Kingdom

Lecture 10

The pharaoh was the physical leader of Egypt. He had to take the men out in the army. He had to do battle. He had to lead.

There are many curiosities and misconceptions concerning the famous Sphinx, only 20 feet smaller than the Great Pyramid, built in Dynasty IV. Chephren (2558–2532), or Khafre, carved the Sphinx from a huge rock encountered while building a causeway. It is part *man* in shape (probably Chephren himself) and part lion. It was built about 4,500 years ago—not in 10,000 B.C., as some geologists have argued. Napoleon's soldiers didn't shoot away the nose of the Sphinx. We have pre-Napoleonic drawings that show the nose was already missing. Freudian psychology discusses the Sphinx as a woman—but it's a man wearing a headdress reserved only for royalty. The false beard is missing, parts of which ended up in the British and Egyptian museums. The British Museum, which doesn't display its fragment, probably doesn't want to return it to Egypt for fear of creating a precedent.

Chephren's Valley temple is the only large one from the period. It is paved with alabaster. But after Chephren, things would change. His successor, Menkaure (Mycerinus), also built on the Giza Plateau, although his pyramid was smaller. The last pharaoh of Dynasty IV, Shepseskaf, moved away from Giza. He returned to Saqqara and built a mastaba. The great pyramid-building era was over.

Dynasty V (2498–2345 B.C.) was the time of the solar kings. Rejecting tradition, the pharaohs built sun temples at Abu Gurob, south of Saqqara, in addition to their pyramids at nearby Abu Sir. The ben-ben stone, atop a squat obelisk, is central at the temples with an altar in front. The kings also changed their names. After Userkaf the pharaohs take *Re* names: Sahure, Neferirkare, Shepseskare, and so on. It may be that the priests are exerting a stronger influence.

Pyramid texts were begun under Unas (2375–2345 B.C.), the last king of Dynasty V. He returned to Saqqara and built a small pyramid inscribed with magical spells. The pyramid texts on the interior walls are intended to ensure that the pharaoh will get to the next world. The inscriptions are in columns—individually done, not stenciled. The spells, in three stages, were, first of all, supposed to keep the body undisturbed before "going west." The second stage was to make sure the voyage to the west was finished safely. Associated with the setting sun, the west was a symbol of death in Egyptian thinking. The third and last stage was to ensure that the pharaoh was accepted into the next world. The spells operated on a magical principle: 'The word is the deed.' One text, the "cannibal hymn," describes Unas eating the entrails of his enemy. But the meaning may not be literal. E. A. Wallace Budge, curator of the Egyptian collection at the British Museum in the early part of the 20th century, argued that the story of Osiris was originally offered as a cautionary tale against cannibalism.

When Chephren built his monument, he didn't expect to hit a big rock, so they just carved the Sphinx out.

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Golden funeral mask from the tomb of King Tutankhamen.

Dynasty VI (2345–2181 B.C.) was the last Old Kingdom dynasty. During this period, the kings continued to build small pyramids, like hills, inscribed with texts. Mastabas of the nobility rivaled pharaohs' pyramids. Apparently, the nobles' power was increasing at the pharaoh's expense. There was a total collapse at the end of the Old Kingdom, then a recovery leading to the Middle Kingdom, and another collapse before the New Kingdom. As far as I know, Egypt is the only great civilization to endure *two* major

collapses. Pepi II (2278–2184 B.C.) was the last pharaoh of the Old Kingdom. He ruled for 94 years, the longest reign in the history of the world. Perhaps he ruled *too* long and became feeble. This is the inherent danger of a pharaoh-centric government. His gradual descent may have led to the collapse of Egyptian civilization. ■

Supplemental Reading

Peter Clayton, *Chronicle of the Pharaohs*, pp. 60–68.

Aidan Dodson, *Monarchs of the Nile*, Chapter V.

Questions to Consider

1. What changes do we see in religious buildings during this period?

2. What are the possible causes of the decline of the Old Kingdom?

The First Intermediate Period

Lecture 11

The Old Kingdom ends with a lot of changes and a decline. Then comes the First Intermediate Period. ... It lasts for as long as the United States has been a country. Nearly 200 years.

Physicist Kurt Mendelssohn's theory was that Egypt declined because unemployed laborers revolted against the pharaonic order—he was probably wrong. In reconstructing the First Intermediate Period, we use various sources. One of them is Manetho (3rd century B.C.), an Egyptian priest who wrote a history of Egypt (*Aegyptiaka*) in Greek for Ptolemy II. The original text of Manetho is lost, but we have quotations from later ancient sources: "70 kings in 70 Days." In other words, there was no stability. Another possibility is that there may have been simultaneous kings in the north and south. We do know the capital changed during this period—from Memphis to Herakleopolis.

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A rendering of Isis, from the tomb of Seti I.

Kings lists are a basic historical resource of ancient Egypt. Carved on temple walls or written on papyrus, they list the chain of pharaohs. The Palermo Stone goes up to Dynasty V. Our oldest record, it gives the years of reigns and some details but ends before the First Intermediate Period. The Karnak List, today in the Louvre, has 61 kings up to Tuthmosis III. The Abydos List, with 76 kings up to Seti I, was used in rituals. Once a year, the pharaoh would read the names of kings in the Hall of the Ancients in order to provision them in the next world. The Turin Papyrus originally listed 300 kings up to Ramses II, with some details of their reigns but the papyrus is badly damaged.

For nearly 200 years Egypt was in this period of anarchy. The good news is it rises again. It comes out of the mire. We're going to get the champion that they want to unify Egypt.

The literature of the Middle Kingdom, which looks back to the intermediate period, also yields information. Of special importance are lamentations, a type of literature used as a source of history. One lamentation concerns a man about to commit suicide. His *ba* (personality) threatens to desert him if he does, which means the man wouldn't be able to resurrect. The lamentations reveal that Egypt was invaded by foreigners. A major theme of the lamentations is that divine order is upset, contrary to the tradition Egypt so long revered. Who was responsible for maintaining divine order? The pharaoh.

This *maat* (divine order) resembled the Elizabethan Great Chain of Being—the world was structured according to God's plan. The lamentations are nostalgic about the good old days of Sneferu. The social order was being trampled—this was the period when the great pyramids were robbed. The lamentations reflect the Egyptians' fear of the desert and the Bedouins who populate it. For Egyptians, their well-watered land was the best place on earth. Finally, the lamentations even question the taxing of people in difficult times. Egypt was the largest bureaucracy in the history of the world, and its government was supported by taxing the peasants according to how high the Nile rose.

We know little about the First Intermediate Period. Dynasties VII and VIII (2181–2160 B.C.) ruled from Memphis. Excavations at Memphis are difficult because of the high water table and extensive cultivation, and thus it's a "lost city." Because the capital is gone, the First Intermediate Period is hard to study. But Egypt, as we shall see, will rise again. ■

Suggested Reading

Peter Clayton, *Chronicle of the Pharaohs*, pp. 60–68.

Aidan Dodson, *Monarchs of the Nile*, Chapter V.

Questions to Consider

1. What are our sources of information for this obscure period?

2. What was life like for the nobility during this period?

The Middle Kingdom—Dynasty XI

Lecture 12

After this First Intermediate Period we have what we call the Middle Kingdom. Life is going to be good, though it's not going to be easy at first.

Dynasty XI (2134–1991 B.C.) began with kings all named Intef, so the chronology is a bit confusing. They were more Theban princes than true kings. The Intefs, residing in the south, tried for unification. Intef Seher-towi (2134–2117 B.C.) begins the dynasty. His name means "makes peace in the two lands," and he wrote his name in a cartouche. He had aspirations, but isn't really king of the two lands. Intef Wahankh (2117–2069 B.C.), "established in life," was a dog lover, the first in history. This pharaoh called himself "King of Upper and Lower Egypt." Intef Nakht-neb-tep-nefer (2069–2060 B.C.), "beautiful and strong champion," fought with northern rulers, trying to unify Egypt.

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Intef Wahankh was the first dog lover, the first in history. An Egyptologist found a stela in 1860 showing him with his five favorite dogs.

The Intefs are followed by the Montuhoteps ("the war god is pleased"). Montuhotep I (also called Montuhotep II), Se-Ankh-ib-towi (2060–2010 B.C.), "He Gives Life to the Heart of the Two Lands," is the new political hope. Later, he added to his Horus name Sam-towi, "Uniter of the Two Lands," a sign of his accomplishment in unifying the two lands. He took the name Neb-Hepet-Re ("Pleased is the Lord Re") as his prenomen.

A warrior king who really was the unifier, Montuhotep left records of his battles up and down the Nile. He built a spectacular mortuary temple in Thebes that has been excavated several times. In the late 19th century, Swiss

Egyptologist Edouard Naville found three princesses buried there, poorly mummified. In the 1920s, American archaeologist Herbert Winlock found two more princesses, one only five years old but a "lady of the harem"—a daughter of the court, a 'palace kid.' In Middle Kingdom burials, people are placed on their sides so they can look out of the coffin through two eyes painted on it. Often the insides of the coffins are inscribed with spells to help the deceased get to the next world. In the 1920s, Winlock found a mass burial at Thebes of over 60 mummies in Deir el Bahri, or "place of the northern monastery" in Arabic. The mummies all turned out to be young men—a group of soldiers brought back for burial. Winlock made further discoveries in a previously excavated tomb. The tomb of Meket re, chancellor and steward of the palace of Montuhotep I, contained remarkable wooden tomb models, like dioramas, depicting such amenities as bakeries and breweries that he expected to find in the next world. In another tomb, Winlock also found the silver scarab, or beetle, worn by Wah, a man who worked for Meket re. The eyes of the scarab were hacked out so it wouldn't be able to bite the deceased. Winlock also found the family letters of a Ka priest, Heka Nakht, that revealed him to be a querulous micro-manager of the family estate. Agatha Christie based her novel *Death Comes as the End* on these letters.

Montuhotep Se-Ankh-Ka-Re (2010–1998 B.C.), "Causing the soul (ka) of Re to live," succeeded his father. He sent 3,000 men to the caravan route of the Wadi Hammamat in year 8 and was reported to have dug 12 wells along the way. Montuhotep Neb-towi-Re (1997–1991 B.C.) followed, though few records exist of his reign. He sent 10,000 men under his Vizier Amenemhet to the Wadi Hammamat for stone. A pregnant gazelle led them to the stone to be used and gave birth on it. They sacrificed the gazelle. This was a dynasty that could build big and mount large expeditions—this was Egypt reborn. ■

Suggested Reading

Aidan Dodson, *Monarchs of the Nile*, Chapter VI.

H. E. Winlock, *The Rise and Fall of the Middle Kingdom in Thebes*.

Questions to Consider

1. How did Egypt eventually become a nation again?

2. What were the accomplishments of the pharaohs who unified Egypt?

The Middle Kingdom—Dynasty XII

Lecture 13

I want to show you that Egypt continues on a roll. They really do. We're going to have Dynasty XII here, and what we've got are kings who are sort of having an establishment mentality. You are going to see that these are guys who don't have to prove anything. They've pulled the country together.

Art history tells us something about the difference between Dynasty XI and Dynasty XII. Montuhotep's statues show brute power—he reunited Egypt by force. Although he had the resources, his statues are crude and poorly worked. Artistic skills were lost during the First Intermediate Period. The statues of Dynasty XII, by contrast, are skilled and refined, the product of royal workshops.

Amenemhet I (1991–1962 B.C.) probably was the vizier of the last king of Dynasty XI; he was a commoner who did great things. A papyrus now in Leningrad establishes his legitimacy by telling of a magician of Sneferu's reign who predicted bad times but also that "the son of someone" (a commoner) would wear the red and white crowns and fix Egypt's woes. His name would be "Ameny," short for Amenemhet. The king's names show that the god Amun is on the rise. Amenemhet's Horus name (*weham-mswe)*, "repeater of births," suggests a renaissance.

The new capital in the Fayoum, 30 miles southwest of Cairo, is situated to control all of Egypt. It is symbolically named Itj-towi, "Binder of Two Lands," stressing the ideal of unification. Tombs of the *nomarchs* (high officials) at Beni Hassan in Middle Egypt show their fantastic wealth. The tombs also record events. The tomb scenes are brightly painted and represent everyday life. The tomb of Khnumhotep I tells of a new survey to redistribute lands, indicating political stability. The pyramid of Amenemhet I at Lisht is mud brick, 180 feet high. It's constructed of reused relief blocks from the pyramid complexes of the Old Kingdom kings. The entrance is on the north, as is traditional. It points to the fixed North Star.

The "Tale of Sinhue" says Amenemhet I was murdered while his son was out of the country. Sinhue fled for fear of anarchy, but there is a happy ending. The "Instructions of Amenemhet to His Son" tend to confirm that murder occurred. The document may have been written by Sesostris. It is basically cynical in tone. It even describes Amenemhet's death in a palace coup, but never calls it murder.

Sesostris I (1971–1926 B.C.) was another great king. He built forts in Nubia (the Biblical Kush) to control the gold supply. These mud-brick forts were very impressive. There was one on each side of the Nile to control trade on the river. Sesotris I had a pyramid at Lisht as his father did, but it was a unique construction. Walls were built from the center to the corners and midpoints of four sides, then filled with sand and rubble. He erected a pair of 66-foot obelisks at Heliopolis—one is still there—and a temple at Karnak. He controlled all of Egypt. "Admonitions of Amenemhet I" gives advice from the dead king. Sesotris established a coregency for the last three years of his reign.

It's a big deal to send an expedition. You've got to go on the Red Sea to get there, and, remember, the Egyptians weren't great sailors, so they didn't love this.

Amenemhet II (1929–1895 B.C.) had another long and successful reign. He sent an expedition to Punt (modern Eritrea, perhaps Somalia). Foreign trade and expansionism were his hallmarks. Royal gifts are found in Byblos in Lebanon. The treasure of the Temple of Tod (south of Luxor) contained Levantine silver cups, Babylonian cylinder seals, and Mesopotamian lapis. His pyramid at Dahshur is mostly ruined, partly because of a high water table. He had a coregency for the last three years of his reign, continuing the precedent set by Sesostris I.

Sesostris II (1897–1878 B.C.) continued the family tradition of alternating names. He expanded agriculture in the Fayoum area. His pyramid at Lahun had an entrance hidden beneath the paving stones, with tombs of females around it. Excavators in the early 20th century found the hoard of Sit-Hathor-Yunet in a wall niche; this trove consisted of fine jewelry of the Middle Kingdom. A water jar for the princess was also discovered.

Sesostris III (1878–1841 B.C.) ended the alternation of names. His statues depart from the tradition of god-like, serene portraits to depictions of the king as tired and brooding. A military leader (6 feet, 6 inches tall), he crushed the Nubians and strengthened forts. He dug a canal around the Aswan cataract. He built temples everywhere—now gone—and a pyramid at Dahshur.

Amenemhet III (1842–1797 B.C.) had another long reign, and his portraits resemble his father's. He is the last great king of the Middle Kingdom. He sent numerous expeditions to the Sinai turquoise mines during his reign. He had two pyramids, as in the Old Kingdom, showing his wealth—one at Dahshur, one at Hawara. At Hawara, the entrance is on the south, with dead-end passages to fool robbers. The burial chamber is carved from a single block of quartzite. Two sarcophagi, one for him and one for his daughter, Neferu-Ptah, were found.

Amenemhet IV (1798–1786 B.C.) had no known pyramid, and little is known of him. A temple at Medinet Maadi in the Fayoum is his only known monument. Queen Sobeknefru (1785–1782 B.C.) ruled briefly at the end of the dynasty, but little is known of her, and no pyramid has been found. ■

Suggested Reading

Aidan Dodson, *Monarchs of the Nile*, Chapter VII.

H. E. Winlock, *The Rise and Fall of the Middle Kingdom in Thebes*.

Questions to Consider

1. How does this dynasty differ from the previous one?

2. What are the signs that prosperity had returned to Egypt?

The Second Intermediate Period

Lecture 14

We're going to see the next dynasty, Dynasty XIII, which is going to go downhill. You're going to see Egypt weakening. Then we're going to see another period where Egypt is ruled by foreigners, and that's the reason it really goes downhill.

Dynasty XIII (1782–1650 B.C.) is the lost dynasty.We have the names of 10 kings, but little else, other than a few small pyramids at Dahshur. How did they feel building in the shadows of the large pyramids of Sneferu at Dahshur? Perhaps they built at Dahshur for religious purposes. King Hor (1760 B.C.) had a very short reign, but his tomb at Dahshur contained a fine life-sized wooden Ka-statue. This indicates wealth, because wood was very expensive in ancient Egypt. Four *small* pyramids at Saqqara are a sign of decline.

For the last 57 years of the XIII Dynasty, another group of "kings" (Dynasty XIV) ruled from the Eastern Delta. There is very little tangible record from this Delta dynasty, because the area is so moist. Egyptological investigations began in the Delta in the 19th century to find evidence of Biblical events. The Delta Exploration Society, later the Egypt Exploration Fund (now Society), pioneered excavations in the area. But the Delta was—and is—difficult land to dig in. Whole temples have entirely sunk under water. The kingship was weakening.

Who are the Hyksos? Not "shepherd kings," as first translated, but "foreign kings." The problem with tracing the Hyksos in the historical record is that only victories were recorded in ancient Egyptian chronicles. Defeats went unrecorded. The Hyksos were Semites who invaded from without or perhaps just took over after living in Egypt for some time. The tombs at Beni Hassan show Semites in Egypt. They ruled from the northern Delta—Avaris (modern Tell el-Daba)—where the soil is moist, so little remains. Current archaeological research is going on at Avaris. Foreign exchange during this period is indicated by Minoan frescos. A jar with a Hyksos cartouche was found in the palace of Knossos on Crete.

The Hyksos worshiped strange gods: Seth (the "evil God" who had hacked up Osiris) and the war god, Reshep. Seth was represented by a goat-like animal with a forked tail. We have no evidence of Hyksos temples to these gods. They don't seem to have integrated with the locals. They were not literate; their scarabs show only scroll designs and very few inscriptions. There are very few Hyksos scarabs in the south, suggesting that this foreign people stayed in the north. Was Joseph in Egypt during this time? Some people think Joseph and his brothers *were* the Hyksos.

Dynasty XVII (1663–1570 B.C.) began the overthrow of the Hyksos. The princes ruling in Thebes were buried in crude coffins at Dra Abu el-Naga. The inflammatory letter from the Hyksos king Apophis to Seqenenre Tao II was first believed to be a literary papyrus, but it is only a fragment. Because we don't have the end of the papyrus, we don't know what happened after Seqenenre massed an army to march north.

Papyrus was the first paper in the history of the world. Although the papyrus plant once grew wild in Egypt, it is now cultivated for the tourist trade. To

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Papyrus plants. Papyrus provided the first paper in the history of the world.

make a surface for writing, you take the stalk of the plant, cut thin strips, then pound it with a mallet and leave it in the sun to dry. With a stone, you polish it until the surface is smooth enough for writing. A papyrus roll was a series of glued pages. Over thousands of years, the first and last pages of a papyrus tended to be the most badly damaged—thus, we lack the end of the story of Apophis. Is there any way to know what really happened?

But what happened over the thousands of years … and this is why we don't have the ending—the parts of the papyri that are damaged most readily are the first and the last pages.

The Theban prince Seqenenre Tao II went to war, and his mummy in Cairo tells us the outcome of the dispute. He most likely died in battle as a result of head wounds. He was brought back to Thebes for burial but was never completely embalmed. His son Kamose ("the soul is born") continued the war against the Hyksos. The Kamose Stela and Carnarvon Tablet tell the tale of a walled city and a Hyksos messenger to Nubia who doesn't get through. Kamose's brother, Ahmose, completed the job of expelling the Hyksos. A career military man, Ahmose, son of Ebana, recorded the final Egyptian victory on his own tomb wall: The Hyksos were chased to Palestine. Ahmose I will begin Dynasty XVIII. ■

Suggested Reading

Peter A. Clayton, *Chronicle of the Pharaohs*, pp. 90–97.

Aidan Dodson, *Monarchs of the Nile*, Chapter VIII.

Questions to Consider

1. How were the Hyksos able to conquer the Egyptians?

2. Why are there so few records of the Hyksos occupation?

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* Erratum: On the tape, the professor twice refers to the "pyramid" of King Hor; he did not have a pyramid but a shaft tomb.

Joseph in Egypt

Lecture 15

Why, for example, is there no Exodus evidence? Exodus was a big event. There's not much archeological evidence. There's also another story before Exodus, the Joseph story, and what we're going to do today is look at the Joseph story and see what an Egyptologist can make out of it. Does it ring true?

Genesis 37–50 is our primary source for the Joseph story. Joseph is an interpreter of dreams. He dreams of 11 sheaves bowing down to him and of the sun, moon, and 11 stars (perhaps he has 11 brothers) bowing to him. His brothers throw him in a well and sell him to Ishmaelites on their way to Egypt; Joseph becomes a slave. Sold to Potiphar, pharaoh's official, he has success in Egypt, although still a slave.

Joseph is falsely accused of seduction by Potiphar's wife. Joseph is thrown in jail. The pharaoh's cup-bearer, also in jail, dreams of three branches of grapes. (He will be released in three days.) The baker dreams that birds eat three cakes on the tray on his head. (He will be hanged in three days.)

The Pharaoh also has dreams, and much follows from them: Seven lean cows eat seven fat cows; seven lean ears of corn eat seven full ears. The cup-bearer remembers Joseph, who interprets the dreams, and Egypt's economy is planned for 14 years. Joseph is given the ring of authority and all cry out "Abrek" wherever he goes.

Jacob (called "Israel") sends all Joseph's brothers but Benjamin, Rachel's son, to Egypt for food during a famine. Joseph recognizes his brothers and asks for Benjamin. When Joseph finally sees Benjamin, he plays a trick and has the silver divining cup placed in his sack. When it is "discovered," Benjamin is kept as a hostage. Joseph's identity is finally revealed. God sent him to ensure the survival of the children of Israel.

Jacob comes to live in "Goshen," the Eastern Delta. He has a vision of God: "I will bring you out of Egypt" (Exodus foretold). Joseph buys up cattle and

land for the pharaoh but doesn't buy the land of the temple priests. When Jacob is about to die, he first blesses his 12 sons—the 12 tribes of Israel. He also requests burial outside of Egypt."Then Joseph ordered the doctors in his service to embalm his father. The doctors embalmed Israel and it took 40 days for embalming … The Egyptians mourned him for 70 days" (Genesis). In the whole Bible, only Jacob and Joseph are mummified. A large retinue leaves Egypt to bury Israel. When Jacob dies, he says "Be sure to take my bones from here." They embalm him and lay him in his coffin in Egypt.

So internally we get a really nice feeling that there's something true about the Joseph story. It's not archeological evidence. It's internal evidence, but it seems to work.

Now, what does the evidence suggest? Some of the similarities are intriguing. The Potiphar story is like the Egyptian "Tale of Two Brothers." Potiphar's name is the Egyptian "Pa-di-Ra" ("that given by Ra").

Who were the magicians mentioned in Genesis? The Coptic (ancient Egyptian) word for magician is *sesperonch* and means "scribe of the house of life," i.e., a religious school. An Egyptian Dream Book also confirms Joseph's skill at interpreting prophetic dreams. The pharaoh's dreams are not in the sesperonch's dream book, explaining why he couldn't interpret the dream.

Other similarities include a stela on Sehel Island, which tells of a seven-year famine resulting from the Nile's low water level and Joseph's signet ring of authority is typically Egyptian. "Abrek" is close to an Egyptian phrase: ab ("heart") + r ("to") + k ("you"), perhaps similar to "god go with you." Priests were allowed to accumulate land, which was true in Egypt and the Bible says "40 days to embalm, 70 for mourning." This is in accordance with Egyptian rules for mummification. ■

Suggested Reading

The Bible, Genesis: 37–50.

Questions to Consider

1. What parts of the Joseph story contain Egyptian elements?

2. What connection might the Joseph story have with the Hyksos?

The Beginning of the New Kingdom—The Fabulous XVIIIth Dynasty

Lecture 16

[The XVIIIth Dynasty is] a period that becomes the glory years of ancient Egypt. It's the one that contains the Pharaoh Tutankhamen, Tuthmosis III, and Queen Hatshepsut. A lot of the famous kings of Egypt, kings and queens, are in the XVIIIth Dynasty, and this is the period that establishes that greatness.

Ahmose (1570–1546 B.C.) was the final expeller of the Hyksos. He secured Egypt's northern and southern borders. He honored his grandmother, Tetesheri (Seqenenre-Tao's mother), and his mother, Queen Ahotep (Seqenenre's wife), by erecting monuments to them. Queen Ahotep may have ruled until Ahmose came of age. Women were to become more important in Egypt than in any other ancient civilization. Ahmose's wife, Queen Ahmose-Nefertari, was the first named "God's wife" and "heiress," legitimizing matrilineal succession of pharaohs. Although the record isn't clear, one apparently became pharaoh by marrying the "right" woman. He went to Nubia, where he defeated their famous bowmen. Ahmose-son-of-Ebana recorded being rewarded with gold and slaves.

Ahmose's son, Amenhotep I (1551–1524 B.C.) continued the military pattern. His name means "the god Amun is pleased." He sent a great expedition to the third cataract of Nubia. Ahmose-son-of-Ebana has left an account of this campaign as well. Amenhotep I has a separate mortuary temple and tomb; he was the first pharaoh to do this. The temple was a place where the ka-priests could make offerings and say prayers for the pharaoh. Perhaps Amenhotep separated them to keep the tomb area more remote. Amenhotep left no sons. Who would be king?

His successor, Tuthmosis I (1524–1518 B.C.), was also a strong military leader. His name means "Toth is born"; Toth is the ibis-headed god of writing. Tuthmosis was a military man who married the right woman: the daughter of King Ahmose and Queen Ahmose-Nefertari. He led the greatest Nubian

campaign—all the way beyond the fourth cataract! "Water that turned one who wanted to go north into one who went south"—this phrase refers to the bend in the Nile they navigated. (Ahmose-son-of-Ebana went along again.) Tuthmosis conquered two tribes and the "sand dwellers," probably Bedouins. Again, Egypt's centralized form of government prevailed over tribal Nubia. He erected a stela to proclaim Egypt's southern border: "Enemies shall have their heads cut off, their families murdered … they will have no successors." The corpse of one tribal leader was tacked upside-down to the prow of the king's hawkship. Tuthmosis led a Mesopotamian campaign to the Euphrates. A stela he erected there described Egypt's northern border.

A pharaoh could have many wives but a pharaoh only had one great wife. She was the honcho of the harem.

Tuthmosis I innovated by constructing the first tomb in the Valley of the Kings. We need to ask why. The pyramids were targets of theft, as happened in the two intermediate periods. Thus, you hide your tomb so it won't be robbed. We have the account of the architect Ineni on the building of this secret tomb on the West Bank, opposite Thebes. The area of the Valley of the Kings is dry and desolate, not inviting to settlement. It has only one entrance. The highest cliff is a "natural pyramid."

One tradition suggests that foreign captives built the tomb of Tuthmosis and were killed afterward. All the tombs in the Valley are chiseled into white limestone, a stone that flakes easily and has smooth surfaces. At this point, burial in pyramids comes to an end. Tuthmosis also erected two large obelisks at Karnak Temple praising the god Amun. This marks the start of the growing importance of Thebes as a significant religious capital. Tuthmosis I and Queen Ahmose ("great wife") have only one surviving daughter, 12-year-old Hatshepsut. Once again, the question arises: Who will become the next king? ■

Suggested Reading

Cyril Aldred, *The Egyptians*, Chapter 12.

Peter Clayton, *Chronicle of the Pharaohs*, pp. 100–103.

Questions to Consider

1. What patterns are established at the beginning of Dynasty XVIII?

2. What is the role of women during this period compared with their role in other civilizations?

Queen Hatshepsut

Lecture 17

Good times were coming to Egypt. But the important thing to stress about this beginning is that women are powerful. This is where we get, in Egypt, woman power, where they become very important.

Tuthmosis II (1518–1504 B.C.) was the son of Tuthmosis I and Mutnefert, sister of the Great Wife Ahmose. He married 12-year-old Hatshepsut, the "heiress" of the royal line. They were married for 20 years, an uneventful period. When Tuthmosis II died, the succession was in question. Hatshepsut (1498–1483 B.C.) served as regent the first four years for her young nephew and stepson, Tuthmosis III. At Deir el Bahri (*Djeser-Djeseru*), she built a beautiful temple next to Montuhotep's. The temple walls tell her story.

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Obelisk of Hatshepsut from the Temple of Karnak.

In 1829, Champollion visited the temple and saw a confusing scene: there were two kings, one of them Hatshepsut, and "the Great King is in the lesser position!" German Egyptologist Richard Lepsius figured out the mystery in the 1850s: Hatshepsut went from "King's Great Wife" to "King"! The temple walls tell the story of her life. But everywhere her name was carved, it was later replaced with those of her father, husband, and stepson. The recarved cartouches on her temple caused great debate between Egyptologists Kurt Sethe and Edouard Naville. The temple walls tell of a trading expedition Hatshepsut

sent to Punt, "God's land," land of incense (Eritrea or Sudan). The trek began from Coptos to Quseir on the Red Sea. Then they sailed 40 miles a day for 15 days, or 600 miles. (Temple carvings at Deir el Bahri are the first accurate depiction of sub-Saharan Africa: They include the Queen of Punt, her daughter, thatched houses on stilts, and such trade goods as incense, trees, giraffes, panther skins, and ivory.) The divine birth scene on the temple claimed that, disguised as Tuthmosis I, the god Amun visited Ahmose, Hatshepsut's mother. Because her father is Amun, she is divine, like the pharaoh. Hatshepsut is shown being created on a potter's wheel. At the temple, we see scenes of how her great obelisks were quarried and transported. They were created in 7 months, then placed on a barge towed by 27 ships. Her two great obelisks were among the tallest in Egypt.

So today if you look on the kings lists … of the previous kings of Egypt … you will never find the name of Hatshepsut, never.

Her first tomb (as Queen) was high in the hills west of the Valley of the Kings and contained an abandoned sarcophagus. Her second tomb was in the Valley of the Kings. The excavation of the tomb, the longest and most difficult in the Valley, was done by Howard Carter. The tomb went toward Deir el Bahri, but workmen hit bad rock and had to change direction. It contained two sarcophagi—one for her and one recarved for the reburial of her father, Tuthmosis I. She was buried with her father, not her husband.

The Red Chapel at Karnak justified her kingship—the oracle statue proclaimed she would be king. Hatshepsut and Tuthmosis III are shown together. The Red Chapel was dismantled 20 years after her death. Why did Tuthmosis III wait so long to do it? Rather than personal vengeance, the reason may reflect a desire that a female pharaoh not be recorded in the official chronicles. Senenmut, the man with two dozen titles, is central to her reign.

Some have suggested that Senenmut, a commoner and lifelong bachelor, was Hatshepsut's lover. He was overseer of the royal palace and tutor of Princess Neferu re. As Royal Architect and Steward of Amun (treasurer), he controlled

the money. His first tomb, at Gourna, displayed his titles and contained a smashed pink quartzite sarcophagus in the shape of a cartouche, originally intended for Hatshepsut. His second tomb, at Deir el Bahri, was unfinished. It is a grand tomb with several levels and contains the first ceiling with an astronomical design. Pornographic graffiti at Thebes show a man with an overseer's cap (Senenmut) making love to a woman (Hatshepsut). Senenmut dies, then Hatshepsut. Twenty years later, her name was erased. The kings list never included her name. ■

Suggested Reading

Aidan Dodson, *Monarchs of the Nile*, Chapter IX.

Joyce Tyldesley, *Hatshepsut*.

Questions to Consider

1. How was it possible for Hatshepsut to become king?

2. What were the outstanding achievements of Hatshepsut's reign?

Obelisks

Lecture 18

Today I want to talk about just what a great achievement it was, how difficult it was to quarry an obelisk, to erect it. I think that in some ways erecting an obelisk was harder than building a pyramid, but we'll let you judge.

Obelisks have religious origins. *Obelisk* comes from the Greek for "meat skewer." Its precursor, the *benben* stone, was worshiped in temples, Sun temples highlighted obelisks, and every obelisk had a pyramidion on top. Once having more than any other city, Heliopolis, now has only one obelisk left. Karnak had a dozen: two by Tuthmosis I, four by Hatshepsut, and six by Tuthmosis III. Only two are still standing (by Hatshepsut and Tuthmosis I). Hatshepsut was very proud of her obelisks, which she claimed were completed in only seven months. Ramses II had dozens of small ones in Pi-Ramses in the Delta and two at Luxor and had his son tied on top of one as it was erected!

All obelisks come from the same Aswan pink granite quarries. The Unfinished Obelisk is the largest ever attempted. It weighs 1,000 tons—equal to two jumbo jets! Pounded out of the quarry with dolorite balls, it shows no chisel marks. Caverns were created underneath obelisks until they could be freed. They were then pulled on rollers to the Nile. A canal was dug under the obelisk, and a barge was placed underneath it. When the obelisk was in place, it was pivoted lengthwise onto the barge. The barge was then towed with the current to the final site. There are several theories about how obelisks were erected. It was probably done with ramps, then ropes. WGBH-TV did an experiment to try probable techniques with Egyptologist Mark Lehner and a 37-ton obelisk.

Roman fascination led to many obelisks being brought to Italy. Two were moved in 10 B.C. by Augustus from Heliopolis to Alexandria. Thirteen were moved to Rome for circuses and other events. They were re-excavated in the 16th century. Techniques for erecting them had been lost, but the obelisks were erected using human-powered winches. The Paris obelisk was moved in

1832. The Alexandria obelisks had been given to France by Mohamet Ali, but Champollion picked the Luxor obelisk. London's obelisk (1877) fell at Alexandria in the 1301 earthquake. Wayman Dixon built a caisson, and the obelisk was towed from Egypt to England. In a storm, six men died. The caisson in which the obelisk was being towed floated free; it was salvaged and eventually got to England, where it was erected on the Thames.

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Obelisk of Ramses II from the Luxor Temple.

The New York obelisk was the last one removed, in 1880. Navy lieutenant Henry H. Gorringe was paid by William H. Vanderbilt to remove the standing Alexandria obelisk. The land was owned by an Italian who wanted compensation. The streets were owned by foreign merchants, who said that the obelisk would damage sewers if it were moved through the streets. So Gorringe went another way. There was not enough timber to lower the obelisk properly, and it stuck on the four crabs installed by the Romans at the base. It was lifted vertically first, then rotated horizontally. The base contained an ancient trowel and plumb bob, so the Masons adopted the obelisk! Gorringe moved the obelisk on cannonballs to water and floated it to port. The steamer *Desoug* (without valid registration papers) was opened up, the obelisk was inserted, and the vessel was sailed by an alcoholic Yugoslav crew! Brought first to Staten Island, then to the east side of New York, it finally landed at 96th

At the erecting of the obelisk there were 9,000 Masons present, 9,000. They made great speeches.

Street near the Hudson River. A special railroad was built, and for 112 days the obelisk moved at the rate of one city block a day. The pedestal (which weighed 50 tons) was the largest object moved on wheels up to that time. On January 22, 1881, the obelisk was erected in Central Park with 9,000 Masons present. The Grand Master made a speech, and placed in the pedestal were 1880 proof coins and "a small box [whose] contents were known only to Mr. William Henry Hurlbert." It's a mystery worthy of ancient Egypt! ■

Suggested Reading

Labib Habachi, *The Obelisks of Egypt*.

Aubrey Noakes, *Cleopatra's Needles*.

Questions to Consider

1. What were the major difficulties in quarrying obelisks?

2. What modern difficulties were encountered in moving the obelisks to New York and London?

Tuthmosis III—King at Last

Lecture 19

Many, many Egyptologists believe that the way Tuthmosis III became king—complete king, full king, justified king—was he was married to Hatshepsut's daughter. Now the daughter dies at an early age leaving Tuthmosis III, as a young kid, a widower. But many people believe he must have been married to the daughter so he could really assume kingship.

Tuthmosis was considered king at an early age, although his Aunt Hatshepsut ruled as the regent, and the young boy doesn't appear in the historical record for years. One theory holds that Hatshepsut thrust him aside in order to rule. A more plausible premise holds that he was simply off training with the military. Tuthmosis, after all, would be the greatest military pharaoh of Egypt.

At the Battle of Megiddo—year 2 of Tuthmosis's reign—the king demonstrated his bravery. Warfare was big business in ancient Egypt. Peace wasn't an ancient Egyptian virtue. Chariot corps were the elite. Chariots were light, to be maneuverable, and pulled by two horses. They were made of three different kinds of wood. Chariots were platforms for archers and were the main weapon of battle. Each carried a driver and an archer. Unfortunately, they broke down frequently. The infantry, the largest body of the army, set the pace of campaigning, marching about 15 miles a day. Each man had a round-topped shield (a piece of wood with an animal hide over it) and a sword or spear. The men were of the lower classes and usually illiterate. Archers, the third component of the army, were also an elite corps. The king rode in front of all of them in a chariot.

Palestine and Syria had been slipping away from Egyptian control during the reign of Hatshepsut, and Tuthmosis III planned to do something about it soon after he became king. Of three possible routes of attack, Tuthmosis chose a narrow valley, "man behind man, horse behind horse," disregarding the advice of his generals. He surprised the enemy, but looting soldiers let many of them escape, forcing a seven-month siege of Megiddo, a walled

city. During the siege, the Egyptians deployed a kind of "tank" that used a covered battering ram. When Megiddo fell, Tuthmosis's reputation was secured.

Tuthmosis didn't rest there. He waged campaigns in Syria for the next 18 years. The Egyptians were resurrectionists who believed that to live outside Egypt (and die there) might endanger their chances for immortality. Egypt's own religious beliefs prevented it from colonizing, which made regular plunder necessary. In a sense, Egypt's religion created a constant state of war. Tuthmosis's statues reveal him as refined. (He has the same prominent nose as Hatshepsut.) At Karnak Temple, Tuthmosis carved a botanical "book" of plants he saw during his campaigns in Syria. On the temple, he recorded his victories.

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Colossus at the courtyard of the Temple of Khonsu.

Late in his reign, Tuthmosis erased Hatshepsut's name from all records. This probably wasn't done from malice but from the fact that Egyptian tradition demanded that kings be male. Some of his own wives have interesting stories. Early in the 20th century, robbers found the tomb of three Syrian princesses of Tuthmosis's harem (the gold headdresses are in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York). While he was doing battle with the Syrians, then, Tuthmosis was also making diplomatic marriages.

Pharaohs had only religious texts on their walls. And that's what Tuthmosis III has. He has religious texts. And what these religious texts look like, is a papyrus roll.

The tomb of Tuthmosis III, in the rear of the Valley of the Kings, is unique. The tomb is in a high, remote place, probably to avoid grave-robbers. The workmen chiseled a descending passageway hundreds of feet into the mountain. The burial chamber is carved in the oval shape of a cartouche. The magic of the circle protected Tuthmosis. The sarcophagus is also in the shape of a cartouche. The wall paintings are religious texts, drawn as if on papyrus, with stick figures. Tuthmosis III is the first to have his own Book of the Dead painted on his tomb walls. Afterward, the steps of his tomb were carved away, denying access to any robbers. ■

Suggested Reading

Cyril Aldred, *The Egyptians*, Chapter 12.

Peter A. Clayton, *Chronicle of the Pharaohs*, pp. 108–111.

Questions to Consider

1. What was Tuthmosis III doing while Hatshepsut was king?

2. Why did Tuthmosis delay in erasing Hatshepsut's name from her monuments?

The Fabulous XVIIIth Dynasty Rolls On

Lecture 20

Now the XVIIIth Dynasty in some respects is the high point of Egyptian civilization. It's where it gets superpower status, where it's right on top of the world. And we're going to see it reach its peak today.

Amenhotep II, the successor of Tuthmosis III (1453–1419 B.C.), ruled for over 30 years. A military man, he continued his father's tradition. After his Nubian campaign, seven Nubian princes were hung upside down, dead on his ship. Six were later hung from the temple wall at Karnak. His tomb, KV 35, which is in the Valley of the Kings, also held other kings: Amenhotep III, Tuthmosis IV, the "elder lady," and others.

Tuthmosis IV (1419–1386 B.C.), whose claim to the throne was probably weak, also had over 30 years of rule. The Dream Stela at the Sphinx, which sits between its giant paws, suggests a shaky succession. The inscription says that Tuthmosis was told by the Sphinx in a dream that if he removed the sand from around the Sphinx, he would become king of Egypt—both of which came to happen. This may suggest that Tuthmosis wasn't next in line to be pharaoh. To commemorate his becoming king, he had a stela carved to be placed at the Sphinx. When you read the stela carefully, however, you realize that it's much more recent than Tuthmosis's time. Perhaps the temple priests replaced Tuthmosis's original because it was damaged. Or perhaps they wanted to show how powerful the Sphinx really was. An obelisk originally quarried by his grandfather, Tuthmosis III, was finally erected. It lay unfinished for 35 years at Karnak. It seems to have been a singleton, although obelisks almost always came in pairs. Now in Rome, at 105 feet, it is the tallest standing obelisk in the world.

Amenhotep III (1386–1349 B.C.), "Amun is pleased," also ruled for more than 30 years, a further sign of political stability. At this time, there were two capitals—Thebes (Luxor), the religious capital, in the south, and Memphis, the administrative center, in the north. The king spends time in both places. Amenhotep's commemorative scarabs, the first "telegrams" in history, are an innovation. On the bottom of the scarabs are hieroglyphs, a key source of

information about events in ancient Egypt. The "marriage scarab" (year 2), a wedding announcement, presents Queen Tiye. Although a commoner, Tiye came from a prominent family—her father was a military official and her brother was vizier of Lower Egypt under Amenhotep III. The "wild bull hunt scarab" (year 2) says Amenhotep captured 56 bulls in a day. The "lion hunt scarab" claims he captured 102 in 10 years. A pleasure lake one-mile long was constructed in Thebes (year 10) for Tiye. Tiye could sail her boat, "The Aten Gleams," on the lake.

Amenhotep was a diplomat, not a conqueror. He had many wives, some of them the result of foreign diplomatic marriages. Amenhotep marries a foreign princess from Mitanni (year 10), but Queen Tiye is still mentioned.

The wealth of Egypt came from more than military campaigns alone. Gold came from Nubia and the Wadi Hammamat. International trade contributed greatly to Egypt's wealth, a fact reflected in the tombs of prominent people. The Luxor (Thebes) skyline is a result of Amenhotep's building projects. He dedicated the Luxor Temple to Amun. The architect, Amenhotep-Son-of-

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Luxor Temple in Thebes.

Hapu, was later deified. Malkata Palace was on the west bank of the Nile. (Here Amenhotep built the pleasure lake for Queen Tiye.) Made of painted mud brick, the palace had plenty of rooms for children and wives. Much of it has disappeared.

In his later years [Amenhotep] moves to Thebes permanently to live in that Malkata palace, the palace of mud-brick but it was rather quite nice. We don't know why. Normally the pharaoh would have lived at Memphis … .

He took another name, the "Dazzling Sun Disk of All Lands," showing the increasing importance of the sun disk, a sign of changes to come. He moved permanently to Thebes in his later years to live in the palace. Normally, the pharaoh would have lived at Memphis. Luxor became an important city, the religious capital and residence of the king. Perhaps religion was becoming more central. Amenhotep's mortuary temple (not his place of burial), now virtually disappeared, was fronted by the Colossi of Memnon, two giant statues 60 feet high. (The Greeks named them for Memnon.) One of the statues was said to have spoken, presumably the wind whistling through cracks in the stone that expanded in daytime heat. Now restored, the statue doesn't speak any longer. His tomb was the first in the West Valley of the Kings. Amenhotep's mummy shows teeth so bad that sheer physical pain may have made a coregency necessary in his later years. He took as coregent a young son unmentioned in the records. ■

Suggested Reading

Cyril Aldred, *The Egyptians*, Chapter 12.

Arielle P. Kozloff and Betsy M. Bryan, *Egypt's Dazzling Sun*.

Questions to Consider

1. Why did Tuthmosis IV carve the dream stela?

2. How did the reign of Amenhotep III differ from that of those kings he immediately succeeded?

Akhenaten the Heretic Pharaoh

Lecture 21

[Amenhotep III's] son turned Egypt upside down. And what we'll see today is that there are three things that you can't fool around with in ancient Egypt; three basic pillars of Egyptian society—the military, religion, and the role of the pharaoh. And Amenhotep III's son tried to change them all.

Akhenaten is going to change everything in what was the most conservative society in history. The unchanging climate and regularity of the Nile led to the concept that change was bad. Art was practically paint-by-numbers. There was little creativity, no word for "artist" in ancient Egyptian, and no signed pieces. Politically, the pharaoh was central, the symbol of Egypt for thousands of years, a fact emphasized by the kings lists. Egyptian religion honored the same gods for 2,000 years. Divine Order—*Maat*—means "status quo." Amenhotep IV began a traditional reign. He was coregent with his father for four or five years, perhaps because of Amenhotep III's dental problems. He completed his father's monuments in traditional style. He married Nefertiti, a beautiful commoner. Amenhotep IV soon instituted major changes.

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Painted bust of Queen Nefertiti, wife of King Akhenaten.

He changed his name, about year 5, an act that had great meaning in Egypt. His new name was Akhenaten. In art, Akhenaten was shown as deformed: spindly neck and arms, breasts, wide hips, elongated face. This had never been done before; the pharaoh was traditionally well muscled and vigorous. The pharaoh instituted monotheism, the world's first: "There is no

god but Aten." This was a stunning declaration in a world of polytheistic religions.

Akhenaten's temples at Karnak also indicate the changes from a closed, massive style to one more open to the sun. One temple is named Gem-Pa-Aten—"Aten is found." His *heb-sed* festival was celebrated, but there are only representations of Akhenaten, not other gods, in the shrines. Did they really have this festival—or is it just painted on the walls? These temples were eventually dismantled, the stones used as filler in later buildings. In this century, the Akhenaten Temple Project attempted to put together a 45,000-piece jigsaw puzzle to rebuild on paper several of these temples. It was discovered that Nefertiti had her own temple, devoted only to women. In the Old Kingdom, women never would have had such power.

There's a real legacy of Akhenaten. He was really preaching a religion of love. But in a sense he was kind of a flower child. He wanted everybody to be happy, love everybody.

Akhenaten may have been forced to move from Thebes to Tell el Amarna, his Holy City in the desert. It was an isolated spot, 200 miles north of Thebes, absent of previous temples or gods. His followers made up a cult, building a city in the desert from scratch. The boundary stelae around the city present a kind of sermon on the mount: Akhenaten says to his followers that Aten showed him the site; no images of Aten can be fashioned; there will be no more military; Akhenaten will never leave the city; and that only Akhenaten knows the Aten.

The palace was a place of beauty. Nobles' houses were in the northern and southern suburbs. Tombs of the nobles give clues to life in the city. They were built on the east bank of the Nile. But none was completed. Did the followers of Akhenaten believe in an afterlife? The royal tomb was isolated, as in the Valley of the Kings.

Unusual both as a man and a king, Akhenaten was a religious leader and mystic. He wrote the "Hymn to the Aten." He presented an abstract god,

for *all* people. Egypt was no longer special. He is shown in art as a family man with six daughters, everyday scenes that had never appeared earlier. But something tragic happened during his reign. Diplomatic correspondence reveals problems. The military was ignored. Foreign connections were overlooked, and Egypt became isolated. Akhenaten died in the 17th year of his reign, and his followers were no doubt troubled about what course to take.

Was Akhenaten a flower child or a confirmed elitist? One thing we can be sure of is that he left an incredible legacy. He is the first recorded proponent of monotheism. Egyptologist James Henry Breasted called him "the first individual in history." He was a religious visionary. Art produced during the period is still unsurpassed in quality. Tutankhamen was probably his son—and his greatest legacy. ■

Suggested Reading

Cyril Aldred, *Akhenaten, King of Egypt*.

D. B. Redford, *Akhenaten, the Heretic King*.

Questions to Consider

1. Why did Amenhotep IV change everything?

2. What were the social and economic effects of the change to monotheism?

The Discovery of Tutankhamen's Tomb

Lecture 22

Most Egyptologists would agree that King Tutankhamen is the son of Akhenaten. But Tutankhamen, while he's the most famous pharaoh probably in history, really very little is known about him.

The history of the Valley of the Kings is crucial. Some of the tombs were open throughout antiquity. Bonaparte's savants recorded 16 tombs visible, 11 of them open. They discovered the tomb of Amenhotep III and made the first accurate map of the Valley. Giovanni Belzoni was the first "systematic" searcher. He discovered the tomb of Seti I with its sarcophagus and later held an exhibition in London. At Deir el Bahri, a cache of royal mummies found in 1881 provided missing pharaohs from the Valley—but no Tutankhamen. The tomb of Amenhotep II (1898) yielded more kings—but still no Tutankhamen. In fact, Cleopatra wouldn't even have heard of Tutankhamen, who turned out to be a "lost pharaoh."

The search for Tutankhamen contains a large cast of characters but Howard Carter, artist-cum-archaeologist, is the central character in the story of Tutankhamen's discovery. Lady Amherst, a collector of antiquities, sent Carter to Egypt, where he worked for Petrie at Amarna. Carter trained as an artist at Beni Hassan under Percy Newberry. Carter was hired as Chief Inspector of Upper Egypt at age 26. He installed iron gates and lights in several tombs and investigated the robbery of the tomb of Amenhotep II (1901), tracking down the robbers.

Theodore Davis, a wealthy American, hired Carter to supervise excavations. One of their finds was the tomb of Tuthmosis IV. After Carter was fired over a political incident in 1904, Davis hired Edward Ayrton as his replacement. Ayrton discovered a faience (ceramic) cup under a rock with Tut's name. This connected Tutankhamen with the Valley. Davis also discovered a small pit (1907) with animal bones, wine jars, bandages with Tutankhamen's name, the remains of Tut's last meal, and a small mummy mask, along with floral pectorals. When Davis found a small tomb containing gold foil with Tut's

name, he declared in a book: "I fear the Valley is now exhausted." But he was wrong. Tomb 55, found in 1907, contained a gilded wooden shrine of Queen Tiye and a coffin with the cartouche hacked out, plus a fragile mummy. It was considered a possible tomb for Tutankhamen.

It seems strange doesn't it? A pharaoh is buried in his tomb with literally thousands of objects, no expense spared, and there is nothing historical to tell us about who he was.

Lord Carnarvon's automobile accident finally led to the discovery of the tomb. Carnarvon hired the unemployed Howard Carter. Convinced that Davis hadn't found Tutankhamen, in 1917, they obtained the concession for the Valley of the Kings. After excavating for several years, they found the first step to the tomb on November 4, 1922; the next day they found the door. Finally a sealed door was uncovered. The burial chamber contained four gilded shrines enclosing the yellow quartzite sarcophagus with a cracked lid of pink granite.

After committing what his Egyptian hosts regarded as a political gaffe, Carter went on strike and was eventually locked out. When Carter returned to work in October 1925, the coffins were opened. The outer one had four silver handles. The third was made of 250 pounds of gold. The mummy was there, but no records in the tomb tell of his family. Carter was puzzled by this. Tomb objects included chariots and thrones, but no crown. Perhaps the crown was a magical object that passed from pharaoh to pharaoh. ■

Suggested Reading

Nicholas Reeves, *The Complete Tutankhamen*.

———, *Howard Carter Before Tutankhamen*.

Questions to Consider

1. What led to the discovery of Tutankhamen's tomb?

2. What did we learn from the objects in the tomb?

The Murder of Tutankhamen—A Theory

Lecture 23

Now it's a theory, but probably most Egyptologists would agree that King Tut, Tutankhamen, is the son of Akhenaten. [Even] while he's the most famous pharaoh probably in history, really very little is known about Tutankamen.

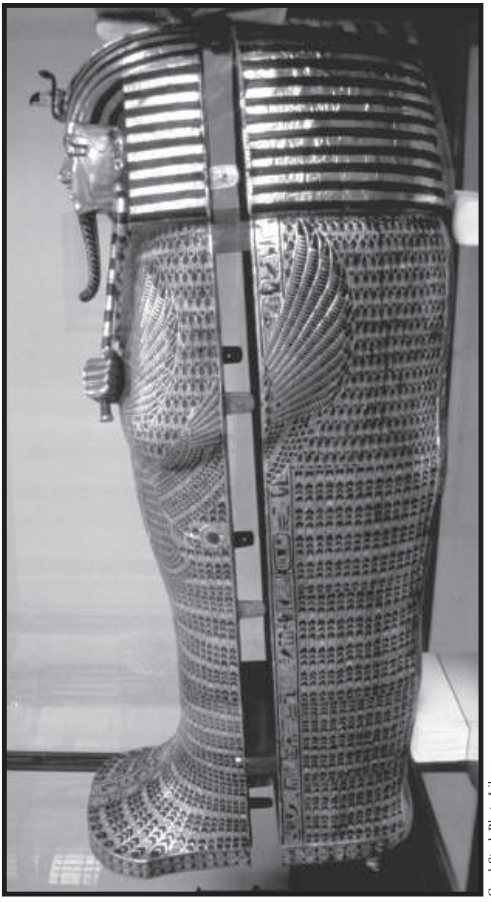
After Akhenaten died, Tutankhaten, his son by a minor wife, Kiya, succeeded him. Tutankhaten married his half-sister, Ankhesenamen and the couple gave up the new holy city of el Amarna and moved back to Thebes. Tutankhaten becomes Tutankhamen.

The murder mystery begins with the king's body. Tutankhamen's first autopsy was performed on November 11, 1925. The mummy, stuck in its coffin, was cut in half at the third lumbar vertebra. An age of approximately 18 years at death was indicated by the epiphyses of long bones, which were separate and movable; eruption of the molars also confirmed the age.

Next we look at objects in the tomb. The objects suggested a king's wealth. A canopic chest and coffinettes with his internal organs were unique. Two unnamed foetuses in their own coffins, one five months old (10 inches) and another eight months old (12 inches), probably miscarriages of his wife, were the big surprise.

Tutankhamen's second autopsy, in the 1960s, was more carefully conducted. His age at death was confirmed by X-rays of ribs and molars. His mummy, the only one to be found intact, still rests in his tomb. The anatomist suggested death "could have been caused by a hemorrhage under the membranes overlaying the brain in this region … could have been caused by a blow." X-rays also enable us to reconstruct how Tutankhamen was embalmed. Hot resin was poured into his head after the brain was removed. A loose bone shown on the cranial x-ray is a red herring—it may have been dislodged post-mortem.

Circumstantial evidence for murder is perhaps stronger than the physical evidence. Tutankhamen died suddenly and was buried in haste. We know that his wife Ankhesenamen sent a letter to the Hittite king in which she revealed her fear of having no heirs. The Hittites sent an ambassador to confirm the letter and a prince later sent for marriage was murdered.



Corel Stock Photo Library.

Coffin of King Tutankhamen.

The walls of Tutankhamen's tomb show officials pulling the mummy to the tomb. Another wall shows the dead Tutankhamen and Aye, the vizier of Egypt, wearing a leopard-skin and performing a ceremony giving life to the dead king. The opening-of-the-mouth ceremony shows that Aye is king. A commoner, Aye succeeded Tutankhamen. He may have even married Tut's wife. The Newberry ring, named for an Egyptologist, shows how Aye became king by marrying Ankhesenamen. After her letter to the Hittites, she disappears from history. A second ring, discovered later, confirms Newberry's claim that Aye succeeded Tut.

A question remains: Why isn't Ankhesenamen shown in Aye's tomb? His tomb was robbed, every trace of his name and his wife's erased. Nor does her name appear in Tutankhamen's tomb. Perhaps Aye wanted to be king. It may

It seems strange doesn't it? A pharaoh is buried in his tomb with literally thousands of objects, no expense spared, and there is nothing historical to tell us about who he was.

be that Ankhesenamen knew his plans and felt the Hittites were her only hope to keep him from usurping the throne.

Research can still be done on the murder theory. I hope to examine Tutankhamen's internal organs. Their analysis may reveal a more conclusive answer to the mystery. A CAT scan of the mummy could be the final word. Perhaps justice was done after all. Today Tutankhamen is remembered while Aye is forgotten. ■

Suggested Reading

Bob Brier, *The Murder of Tutankhamen*.

Christiane Desroches-Noblecourt, *Tutankhamen*.

Questions to Consider

1. What circumstances surrounding Tutankhamen's death suggest murder?

2. How likely was it that Egypt would accept a Hittite as king of Egypt?

Medicine—The Necessary Art

Lecture 24

I want to show you how an Egyptologist puts together a theory. And if anything, I should say to you this lecture could be harmful to your health. It's not certainly subscribed to by all archaeologists. Some believe I'm right, many believe I'm wrong. But I want to show you that I think Tutankhamen was murdered.

Who were the physicians and their patrons? Temple priests (*wabu*), "the pure ones," were the major physicians. Three gods were considered the patrons of physicians: Sekhmet, Toth, and Isis. Sekhmet, the lioness goddess, was closely related to physicians. An angry Re told Sekhmet to destroy mankind. After his anger relented, he had trouble stopping her from fulfilling his order. Finally, he decided to mix red ochre and beer to resemble human blood. Sekhmet drank it, becoming intoxicated and abandoning her destructive mission.

Toth was the ibis-headed god of magic and writing. (Plato lamented the discovery of writing, preferring the Homeric tradition.) In one myth, Toth restores Horus's eye after battle. Another myth had it that Horus, when still an infant, was killed by a scorpion sting. It was Toth who drew out the poison and saved him. Called Hermes by the Greeks (thus "hermetic writings"), Toth is the god of medicine.

Isis, goddess of magic and nurturing, was also a patron goddess of physicians. There are several myths in which she raises the dead. In one, she searches for shelter, accompanied by seven scorpions, to hide from the evil Seth. After Isis is denied refuge by a woman with a young child, one of the scorpions kills the infant. But Isis takes pity on the woman and revives the child by a laying on of hands.

Physicians did their healing work in temples. Dendera, in the south, was renowned for the healing dreams of sleeping pilgrims. The water was an early example of holy water. Deir el Bahri had a clinic on the roof. Imhotep—physician, architect, and god of healing—presided at this temple,

as did Amenhotep, Son-of-Hapu. One theory holds that embalmers were the first with anatomical knowledge.

Medical papyri were numerous and varied. The Edwin Smith Surgical Papyrus (1700 B.C.) is quite clinical. Forty-eight cases of trauma are described from head to toe. Three options, described on papyrus, were open to the physician: (1) treat the illness, (2) contend with the illness, and (3) avoid treating the illness. In this way, the future reputation of the physician was considered. The papyrus describes the brain but not its function. Despite vivid description, not everything is accurate. A clinical approach instructs how to remove bone fragments, splint arms, bandage, and perform other tasks. With these clinical cases one magical treatment is also included. A spell for a fractured frontal bone recommends putting an ostrich eggshell poultice on the forehead, perhaps a kind of sympathetic magic.

They would splint, they would wrap, they would bandage, but they didn't tend to cut open and work on you while you were awake. They didn't have anesthesia.

The reverse side of the Edwin Smith Surgical Papyrus is magical. The regular appearance of the plague brought several treatments. Exorcism of demons is described. A plague-bearing wind is described for which burning bed linens is suggested. There is also a magical spell and a recipe for wrinkle cream, "How to transform an old man into a youth." This was the origin of pharmacology. For a crying child, a potion with poppies—what we would call an "active ingredient"—was prescribed.

Papyrus Ebers describes 800 medical situations and treatments. For headaches, an ointment of fish was spread on the head. Blindness—"When the god made me see night during the day"—was considered a religious affliction. Spells were prescribed. For a lame foot, wrapping in deerskin was suggested, perhaps from sympathetic magic. ■

Suggested Reading

John F. Nunn, *Ancient Egyptian Medicine*.

Paul Ghalioungui, *The House of Life*.

Questions to Consider

1. What were the two different approaches to medicine in ancient Egypt?

2. Who were the physicians?

The End of Dynasty XVIII

Lecture 25

Now, one of the things that all Egyptologists talk about, when we talk about the end of the XVIIIth Dynasty, is the Amarna period.

Aye, who had followed Akhenaten to el Amarna, succeeded Tutankhamen as king at about the age of 60. He married Ankhesenamen, Tutankhamen's widow. He also appropriated Tutankhamen's tomb in the West Valley, a spur of the Valley of the Kings. Tutankhamen chose the West Valley because his grandfather, Amenhotep III, was buried there, and he wanted to distance himself from his heretic father, Akhenaten.

Aye's tomb—and sarcophagus—is like Tutankhamen's, probably a nod to the latter's popularity. One wall has a painting of baboons as in Tutankhamen's tomb, probably made by the same artist. Ankhesenamen does not appear on the walls of Aye's tomb. Eventually his tomb, like so many others, was robbed.

Aye's successor, Horemheb, also childless, was a law-and-order pharaoh. He began his career as commander of the army under Amenhotep III, and his career probably floundered during the reign of Akhenaten. He was later King's Deputy under Tutankhamen.

Horemheb was a throwback to the centralizing tendency of the Egyptian past. He counted his reign from the death of Amenhotep III, as though previous pharaohs never existed. Thus, the heretical period spanning from Akhenaten to Aye didn't "exist"—he was rewriting history. The names of Akhenaten, Tutankhamen, and Aye are simply missing from the kings lists. A minor king, Smenkare, also "disappears" from the record.

Many new policies were instituted during Horemheb's reign. Priests were taken into the army to cement military-state relations. Horemheb also established two commanders of the army—one for the South and one for the North.

Horemheb instituted many building projects for his own glory. To build the ninth pylon—a huge gateway—at Karnak, he tore down Akhenaten's temples and reused the blocks as fill for the pylon. Ironically, he thus preserved Akhenaten's temples, though in altered form. He usurped Tutankhamen's monuments. Everywhere he found Tutankhamen's name, he erased it and carved his own. Tutankhamen had erected a "restoration stela" at Karnak. The stela says that all across Egypt, the statues of the gods had been melted down, weeds were growing in the temples, and the military was no longer respected—Akhenaten had allowed the country to collapse.

It ends with a military man as king. When he dies, [he] leaves no heirs. There are no children. And the question becomes, who will be the next king of Egypt?

Tutankhamen, under advice from Aye, had also inscribed the Luxor Colonnade with scenes of the most sacred religious festival of Opet. Once a year, the sacred statues of the gods at Karnak were taken to nearby Luxor for a festival. Tutankhamen's inscription was a reminder of his respect for tradition. The names of Tutankhamen here, too, were replaced with Horemheb's. Everything of Tutankhamen's was wiped away.

Horemheb's Saqquara tomb shows his military career during Tutankhamen's reign, including the Syrian and Libyan campaigns. When he became king, however, he sent sculptors to alter his image at Saqquara so that it displayed the royal cobra on his forehead. His real tomb in the Valley of the Kings (KV 57) was discovered by Theodore Davis in 1908. It contained wooden figures, symbols of royal power, similar to those found later in Tutankhamen's tomb.

Horemheb was the traditionalist, recalling Egypt to her great past. Such was the end of Dynasty XVIII. Because Horemheb had no heirs, the question again arose: Who would be the next king of Egypt? ■

Suggested Reading

Peter A. Clayton, *Chronicle of the Pharaohs*, pp. 136–139.

Aidan Dodson, *Monarchs of the Nile*, pp. 113–118.

Questions to Consider

1. How did Horemheb's reign differ from Tutankhamen's?

2. What were the consequences of three consecutive pharaohs' not having children?

Mummification—How We Know What We Know

Lecture 26

What I want to do today is take a little bit of a detour from the chronological approach—a side trip. And I want to talk about something that's very Egyptian. Very ancient Egyptian. Mummies, which is my specialty. There is something about mummies that is very special. Ask any museum curator.

Ask any curator what draws people into museums, and he or she will tell you, "mummies." For a long time, little was done to conserve mummies because they were considered dead people, not artifacts. In Egypt, mummification was the Big Secret. Why? There isn't a single papyrus that tells us how to mummify. The secrecy derives in part from the fact that the details were considered trade secrets.

The first of four papyri, the "Embalmers' Archive," describes the Men of Anubis, or the lives of embalmers. Anubis is the jackal-headed god named for animals that feed on decomposing flesh. Embalming duties were varied—embalming families, sealing tombs, and maintaining the tombs. An oath of allegiance had to be taken. The embalming families apportioned parts of the town among them.

The "Rhind Bilingual Papyri," discovered by lawyer Alexander Rhind (1860) in an intact Roman tomb, is another important source. The tomb had been plundered. Rhind found damaged mummies and tags with their names. In a Roman-period tomb he found the papyri next to a gilded mummy. We learn about rituals in the Rhind papyri, not surgical procedures.

For 35 days the body rested in the "place of cleansing." Seven openings of the head and 17 members of the body are described. These are magical numbers. Seventeen rituals and 70 days to burial also indicate magical numbers. The wrapping ritual included naming the bandages. A husband and wife died within 46 days of each other, and the papyri give important details about them, including the cutting of hair as a sign of mourning.

The "Ritual of Embalming" is another papyrus dealing with mummification. Here again we learn ritual, not surgical, procedures. First, there are a few days of mourning. The body stays in natron for 35 days in a place of cleansing. On the 46th day after death, bandaging takes place. Horus, the falcon-headed god, came with ragged bandages, perhaps a sign of ritual belief that one took familiar (used) things to the next world. Frankincense was placed in the head, myrrh in the body. They helped dehydrate the body and keep it from smelling.

Did they put the mummies in a pickling solution for a while and then dry them out? Or did they put it in dry natron, salt it like fish, and then take it out?

Finally, Herodotus describes the mummification procedure in some detail. He describes the mourning procedure and details the price ranges of different "models." As for the cutting, first a red line was drawn on the abdomen to indicate the incision. The brain was removed through the nose with an iron hook and the internal organs taken out with a "sharp Ethiopian stone." The body was steeped in natron—a salt—for 70 days, although an earlier Egyptian account says 35.

The Egyptians don't give us the details we want on mummification. Only the mummies can do this, as we'll see in the next lecture. ■

Suggested Reading

Bob Brier, *Egyptian Mummies*.

Salima Ikram and Aidan Dodson, *The Mummy in Ancient Egypt*.

Questions to Consider

1. Why were mummification techniques kept a secret?

2. How do we learn about mummies?

What Mummies Tell Us

Lecture 27

I'm glad the mummies didn't scare you away. We're going to do some more mummy business today. What I'd like to do is show you that the mummies themselves are perhaps the best way to figure out the process of mummification.

The Egyptians mummified bodies for more than 3,000 years. Old Kingdom mummies were intended more as statues than preserved bodies. Bandages were coated in plaster with facial details painted on the outside. The earliest effective attempt at mummification was Queen Hetepheres—"Wife of a king, mother of a king"—and is a mystery case. Her tomb was discovered this century near the Great Pyramid. Her internal organs were in her unplundered tomb. Natron, in solution, preserved them. Her sarcophagus was in the tomb. But when excavators opened the lid, they found no body. The excavator reasoned that Hetepheres was probably buried close to her husband, Sneferu, at Dahshur. Perhaps robbers destroyed the body, and the guardians told her son Khufu (Cheops) of the plunder, but that the body was safe—a lie to protect themselves. So Khufu had it reburied, not knowing that only the internal organs remained.

Mummies of commoners varied considerably. There were different price ranges for different services. Almost all bodies were eviscerated on the left side. The brain was removed in higher-priced mummifications via the nasal passages. Resin was poured in the skull to cauterize the area.

Royal mummies of the Deir el Bahri cache are a primary source of information. After wonderful jewelry began appearing on the international antiquities market in the 1870s, the hunt for a royal tomb began. Although arrested and tortured by the police, the grave robbers didn't at first reveal the location of the tomb they'd discovered. In 1880, they relented. Their find, soon revealed to the world, turned out to include a puzzling assortment of kings. The archaeologists found a passageway clogged with coffins from the New Kingdom: XVIIIth Dynasty kings included Tuthmosis I, II, and III. Kings of the XIXth dynasty included Seti I and Ramses II. The XXth Dynasty

had an assortment of Ramses—including Ramses III. Dynasty XXI royalty created the tomb.

Several factors brought the burials to be together. The decline of Dynasty XX led to extensive tomb robberies. Priest-kings took control of Thebes and wanted to put away mummies in a safe place. Meanwhile, the royal mummies were quickly removed from the tomb. They were taken by steamer to Cairo at night.

The best way we have of figuring out the process of embalming so far has been to actually look at the mummies.

A great deal about Egyptian mummification was learned from these mummies. The brain was first removed in Dynasty XVIII. In Dynasty XXI, internal organs were replaced in the body. (False canopic jars and sons-of-Horus amulets were needed.) Through incisions, the skin was packed with an organic material for a more lifelike appearance. At the Egyptian Museum, the mummies were hastily unwrapped.

The Tomb of Amenhotep II (KV 35) provided the second royal cache. In 1898, Victor Loret found the tomb of Amenhotep II. The mummy of the pharaoh with the bad teeth, Amenhotep III, was also there. In fact, almost all Egyptians had bad teeth, because their bread was packed with sand from their grindstones. ■

Suggested Reading

Bob Brier, *Egyptian Mummies*.

Salima Ikram and Aidan Dodson, *The Mummy in Ancient Egypt*.

Questions to Consider

1. What was the major difference between mummification in the Old Kingdom and mummification in the New Kingdom?

2. How did all the royal mummies found at Deir el Bahri come together?

Making a Modern Mummy

Lecture 28

Mummies themselves give us clues about how mummification took place. I did this project, and the reason I actually took a human cadaver and mummified it, was to learn the details of mummification.

We went to local sites to find such important substances as natron, frankincense, and myrrh. Natron was the essential ingredient in mummification, but there are questions about how it was used. Herodotus, because of an ambiguous term he used about preserving fish, started the debate about whether natron was used dry or wet. Natron, basically salt and baking soda, was more likely to have been used dry than in solution. No vats have ever been found for its use in solution. It is counter-intuitive to soak something you want dehydrated.

Tools of the embalmer were another puzzle. The Egyptians had used bronze knives, so we had to re-create some. The "necrotome," thought to be an embalmer's knife, was useless. We made bronze alloy blades—88 percent copper, 12 percent tin—just like the originals. *Kmt*, the ancient word for Egypt, is the root of our word *chemistry*. But "a sharp Ethiopian stone" (obsidian) proved to be the best knife of all. Finally, "a hooked iron rod" of bronze was efficient for brain removal.

Surgical procedures have also been replicated. The liver was removed by making a small incision with the obsidian. Obsidian blades are sharper than surgical steel. We removed the organs, even the liver. There is no Egyptian word for some organs, such as the pancreas, because the embalmers never saw it when removing the intestines. There were four canopic jars for internal organs—but what about other organs, such as the gall bladder and spleen? We left the heart inside and filled the cavity with a pocket of natron. Everyone thought the brain would have to be removed piece by piece with a "coat hanger." But the first embalmers must have rotated their tool, in effect whisking the brain, then turned the body over and drained the liquid. Embalmers probably worked outdoors because of the foul smells. We

controlled humidity in our tent and covered the body with natron. We made an embalming board and left the body there. But for how long?

Overall findings revealed the details of embalming. We left the body for 35 days. We found that the natron process—not the passage of time—gave the mummy its unique look. The body lost about half its weight, but there was still some moisture in it. We returned it to the "tomb" for a couple of months, and the moisture disappeared. It was so dry, in fact, we couldn't even cross the hands in the royal style. The 35-day injunction, mentioned earlier, referred to the period when the body was still flexible enough to manipulate.

We're working with the mummy all the time. But the reason we did it was to figure out primarily how the Egyptians mummified—surgical procedures, tools, and the use of natron.

Our conclusion: A mummy looks like it does not because of the passage of 3,000 years but because of the procedure. Thirty-five days in natron, it turned out, was just the right time. Future research will be done with the modern mummy. (Mummy DNA studies are now being conducted.) Our mummy is the only "ancient Egyptian mummy" whose method of preservation is known in detail. This is the "control mummy" for future experiments. ■

Suggested Reading

Bob Brier, *Egyptian Mummies*.

G. Elliot Smith and Warren R. Dawson, *Egyptian Mummies.*

Questions to Consider

1. What surgical procedures were essential for mummification?

2. How was the body dehydrated during mummification?

Dynasty XIX Begins

Lecture 29

We had three kings of Egypt in a row with no children. ... Egypt saw that this was a bad thing, so the next dynasty, Dynasty XIX, is going to make sure this doesn't happen again, and that's why they choose as the next king of Egypt, Ramses I.

Ramses I (1293–1291 B.C.) ruled only briefly but established a dynasty. A commoner, the vizier and friend of Horemheb, his father was a general named Seti. Ramses had a son and grandson, so succession would be clear. His wife, Sitre, was the first buried in the Valley of the Queens. His son, Seti I (1291–1278 B.C.), was the first great king of the dynasty.

Seti means "follower of Seth." A vizier and general like his father, Seti started his own tradition. He took the title of "repeater of births." He married Tuya and had three children: One son died young; his daughter, Tia, lived to adulthood; and the second son, Ramses, would become Ramses the Great. Seti I went on several military campaigns to reestablish Egypt. In Syria, he captured forts and returned with captives. He led a Libyan campaign in the west.

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Hypostyle Hall at Luxor Temple akin to the one Seti I started at Karnak.

Seti built some of the most beautiful monuments in Egypt. He began the famous Hypostyle ("supports a ceiling") Hall at Karnak. The columns are so massive that 100 men can stand on the top of one. His temple at Abydos was the first major project after Amarna. An Egyptian temple, off-limits to commoners, was in fact, a hive of activity. The priests, who began as stand-ins for the

pharaohs, were a professional caste who didn't have to be believers. Some of their positions were hereditary. The temple at Abydos has a great kings list. You won't see Akhenaten, Tutankhamen, Aye, or Hatshepsut included in the cartouches—it's as if they never existed. The temple contains seven sanctuaries (Re-Horakhty, Amun-Re, Osiris, Isis, Horus, Ptah, and Seti himself.) The Hall of Ancients honors Seti's ancestors.

Found at Abydos, the Osireion, a unique building, is also perhaps Seti's. The Osireion is 30 feet below ground level, and its huge blocks of granite are not typical of the period. The blocks are surrounded by an artificial moat that would have been filled with water. The building is called the Osireion because it was said to be the place where Osiris was buried after Isis reassembled him. (Another version of the myth says that his head was buried there.)

Seti, when he died, had prepared his son to become king of Egypt, and he would do it well. That son is Ramses the Great.

There are two theories about the construction of the building. Most Egyptologists believe that Seti built it. Religious texts discovered in the tunnel leading to the monument are inscribed with his name. (Others suggest that Seti left his sarcophagus there while waiting for burial in the Valley of the Kings.) My own theory is that the Osireion is much *earlier* than that. The temple at Abydos doesn't follow the usual building plan, shaped as it is like an L instead of on a single axis. It may be that they discovered this monument while building the temple above, then turned left to avoid it. Seti simply took credit for the earlier work by making inscriptions. The size of the stones suggests a much older date of construction. The nature of the repair work done on one block also suggests how Seti might have sought to get credit for work not actually done during his reign.

Seti died and was buried in the Valley of the Kings. His tomb ceiling is a beautiful astronomical design; his sarcophagus is made of translucent alabaster. Seti had prepared his son—Ramses the Great—to carry on in his tradition. ■

Suggested Reading

Peter A. Clayton, *Chronicle of the Pharaohs*, pp. 140–145.

Aidan Dodson, *Monarchs of the Nile*, Chapter XI.

Questions to Consider

1. Why was Ramses I, an old man, selected as pharaoh?

2. Why did Seti I build a temple at Abydos?

Ramses the Great—The Early Years

Lecture 30

[Seti's] the first great king of the XIXth Dynasty. Well I mentioned before that his son is going to become Ramses the Great, one of the greatest pharaohs Egypt ever saw, and I want to talk about Ramses the Great. I want to talk about the early years.

The early years, before Ramses became king, were promising ones. He campaigned with his father, Seti I, in Syria and is shown next to his dad's chariot. He was named "eldest son," even though he had no brothers. He is shown in the hall of the Ancestors in the Abydos Temple helping his father.

Ramses took two chief wives, Nefertari and Istnofret. They had five sons and two daughters. Nefertari, the Great Wife, bore the Crown Prince Amunhirkepshef. Istnofret bore Khaemwaset, who became High Priest of Memphis and labeled the pyramids. He also built the Serapeum, the burial place of the Apis Bull. Istnofret also had Merneptah, the 13th of Ramses's 52 sons, who would become pharaoh.

The young pharaoh was very bold. Ramses's five names and epithets indicated a future military career: Horus, "Strong Bull, Beloved of Truth; Two Ladies, "Protector of Egypt Who Subdues Foreign Lands"; Golden Horus, "Rich in Years, Great in Victories"; King of Upper and Lower Egypt (*Usr-maat-Re*), "Strong in Right is Re"; and Son of Re, Ramses II, "Beloved of Amun." His own name, literally translated, is no less impressive: *Ra* = sun god; *mses* = is born.

Ramses completed Seti's temple at Abydos and carved his own inscription, then built a temple behind it. He also completed the Hypostyle Hall at Karnak Temple and claimed credit for it as his own. The battle of Kadesh (year 5) established his reputation. Syria, controlled by Hittites, was independent of Egypt; when there was a revolt in the Levant, Ramses rode out! Four military divisions (Amun, Re, Ptah, Set) of 5,000 men each marched through Gaza

to Kadesh. They took town after town. But the logistics of food and water proved to be difficult.

In the official Egyptian account, two captured spies told Ramses that Muwatallis the Hittite king was fleeing. (In truth, he had 40,000 troops and 2,500 chariots hidden in the woods.) Ramses, believing the spies, proceeded ahead of his lagging army; behind him, the Division of Re was attacked. Ramses's camp was surprised by the Hittite attack, but the pharaoh rallied a few troops, counterattacked, and saved the day. Egyptian troops arrived and drove the Hittites across the Orontes River. The Prince of Aleppo, fighting with the Hittites, nearly drowned, and his predicament was ridiculed in Egyptian records. The next day Egyptians and Hittites fought to a standoff. Ramses refused a peace treaty with the Hittites, accepting only a temporary truce. He returned to Egypt. The battle account is carved everywhere—Egypt's version of *George Washington Crossing the Delaware*. Ramses is shown as larger than life, a king leading his army to save the day.

Now another important monument that [Ramses the Great] builds is the "Ramesseum" as it's called; his mortuary temple. It's where Ramses would be worshiped for centuries to come.

Ramses was unequaled as a builder. He moved the administrative capital from Memphis to Pi-Ramses (Qantir) in the Delta, a more strategic location from a military point of view. He built a famous temple at Abu Simbel, south of Aswan, in Nubia. He had the unique temple carved out of a mountain. It was a great piece of architectural propaganda for Nubians sailing north on the Nile, its walls depicting bound Nubian captives. Inside, the battle of Kadesh is depicted, and Ramses is shown among the gods as a statute. Twice a year, the sun illuminated the temple interior. He also built a second temple, for Nefertari, with an inscription above the doorway that says, "she for whom the sun does shine."

Both temples were moved to higher ground by UNESCO in the 1960s when the Aswan Dam was built. They were dismantled and reassembled exactly

as they would have appeared in ancient times, fallen statues and all. In addition, Ramses built the Ramesseum, his mortuary temple. Percy Bysshe Shelley's "Ozymandias"—"King of Kings—look upon my monuments and despair"—is about the ruined statue at the Ramesseum. Shelley, however, had never seen it.

Ramses established himself as a great leader and builder. But Ramses the Great was due to have something of a midlife crisis. ■

Suggested Reading

Rita E. Freed, *Ramses the Great*.

K. A. Kitchen, *Pharaoh Triumphant: The Life and Times of Ramses II*.

Questions to Consider

1. What really happened at the battle of Kadesh?

2. What was novel about the temple at Abu Simbel?

Ramses the Great—The Later Years

Lecture 31

Ramses is one of my favorite personalities of all of Egyptian history. I think there's really two reasons for that. One is, he's a great guy. But the other is, we have an awful lot of information about him, so we can know something about him. And he gets to become a human being.

Ramses's days as a warrior were limited to his earliest years. In year 8, Ramses rode out to Syria and, although successful, he did not take Kadesh nor make a permanent conquest of the region. Since Egypt never had an occupying army in Syria, repeated campaigns were necessary to gain tribute.

We can tell a great deal about Ramses from the Hittite peace treaty (year 21). The Hittites, weakened by fighting both Assyrians and Egyptians, needed a treaty. It was first written on a silver tablet in cuneiform and then rewritten in hieroglyphs on the walls of the Karnak and Abu Simbel temples. The treaty, perhaps the first written down in history, contained defense and trade agreements and a nonaggression pact. Ramses, who didn't seem to have any fight left in him, accepted.

Ramses also took a Hittite bride (year 34), which suggests he wanted peace. He boasted of her dowry (silver, gold, horses, minerals): "Greater will her dowry be than that of the daughter of the King of Babylon." It was an 800-mile trip, and the bride came with an escort. Hittite and Egyptian soldiers "ate and drank face to face, not fighting," according to an inscription on a temple wall. This was amazing! Hittites were one of Egypt's nine traditional enemies.

Huttusilis II, king of the Hittites, asked for an Egyptian physician for his sister who couldn't have children, yet another indication of a new friendship between rivals. Egyptian medicine had such specialists as gynecologists and eye doctors. And in year 44, Ramses took a second Hittite bride to further establish peace. Ramses, it would seem, was mellowing.

Ramses experienced several major deaths in the family leading him to become a tomb builder. No more great temples—he looked instead toward death. Nefertari died as Abu Simbel was completed (year 20). Her death wasn't formally announced; we know of it because she merely disappears from the historical record. First-born son Amunhirkepshef, the crown prince, died in around year 17. Khaemwaset, the overachiever son who labeled the pyramids, died and is perhaps buried in the Serapeum. Nefertari's tomb in the Valley of the Queens is the most beautiful of all, restored by the Getty Institute by removing salt crystals beneath the plaster before replastering. Today, visitors to the tomb are limited, because their presence—as in any tomb—affects the humidity.

My hunch is, that burial chamber of Ramses the Great probably held more treasure than any other room in the ancient world ever held.

KV 5, the tomb of Ramses's sons, is the largest in Egypt. He did have 52 sons! Found early in the 19th century and later lost, the tomb was rediscovered (in 1987) by Dr. Kent Weeks's Theban Mapping Project. It's the largest tomb in all of Egypt. The architecture, with hundreds of rooms on several levels, is unique. Perhaps some of the rooms were chapels for offerings to the sons. It may take over a century to excavate KV 5 safely.

Ramses's tomb is a reflection of his greatness. The workmen's village at Deir el Medineh was supported by Ramses just to build tombs. We know more about this town than about any other ancient city in the world. Because of this town, we know how to build a royal tomb. There were two gangs, one left-hand and one right-hand, working simultaneously. Bronze chisels were weighed at the beginning and end of the week so no one could steal any bronze. An entire city was erected to work on the tombs of Ramses and his sons. The burial chamber of Ramses the Great probably held more treasure than any other single room in antiquity.

Why did Ramses have a midlife crisis? The Exodus, as we shall see in the next lecture, may have had something to do with it. ■

Suggested Reading

Rita E. Freed, *Ramses the Great*.

K. A. Kitchen, *Pharaoh Triumphant: The Life and Times of Ramses II*.

Questions to Consider

1. What events suggest a change in Ramses's personality?

2. Why is the tomb of Ramses considered so extraordinary?

The Exodus—Did It Happen?

Lecture 32

Many people feel that Ramses is the pharaoh of the Exodus. Now what I'd like to do is basically tell you the Exodus story. We'll talk about the story of Exodus as it is in the Bible. And then we'll look to see—how do you get evidence for this?

There is virtually no archaeological evidence for the Exodus. Nonetheless, the Exodus is the foundation of the Jewish faith in three parts and is mentioned more than any other event in the Old Testament. It presents the following stages of Israel's story: bondage, exodus, and coming to the Promised Land.

The children of Israel are shown in bondage in the Bible. There was "a new pharaoh who knew not Joseph." The Bible says the Israelites worked in brick, not in stone. (Remember that these Israelites didn't build the pyramids, which date from much earlier.) Pharaoh tells the midwives to "watch the two stones" so they will kill the male Israelite children. We will see what that means shortly.

Moses was born and named by the Egyptian princess because "I drew him out of the water." Nurtured by his mother, he matured, married, and encountered God in the form of the burning bush. God told Moses that the sons of Israel would be freed to find the Promised Land of milk and honey. Moses was given divine powers—his staff changed to a serpent. Moses had his audience with pharaoh ("the one who lives in the Great House"). No more straw for bricks will be given the Hebrews, pharaoh told him—they will have to gather it themselves.

The 10 plagues descended: darkness (sandstorm), river of blood (topsoil), mosquitoes, and others. The first nine plagues, all possibly explained by natural phenomena, didn't move the pharaoh. But the tenth, the death of the first-born child, forced pharaoh to relent. Moses was told that Yahweh would harden the pharaoh's heart, but that in the end the Hebrews would plunder Egypt of silver and gold.

As foreseen, the Israelites were given silver and gold. It was said that "600,000—all men—not counting families" left after being in Egypt for 430 years. They left not by the Philistine Road, but by the Sea of Reeds. (The "Red Sea" is a mistranslation.) The pharaoh pursued them. The Sea of Reeds parted, and the Israelites escaped. We are told of the Egyptians that "[Moses] clogged their chariot wheels." Were they actually stuck in the mud? The Israelites wandered in the wilderness and eventually reached the Land of Canaan.

There are reasons why there is no external evidence for the Exodus. The ancient Egyptians didn't record defeats; they had a different conception of history than we do. Exodus was not an important event to the rest of the world (like the Middle East's reaction to the American Revolution). Maybe only a small number of the Israelites escaped—and their numbers were greatly exaggerated in the first place. Internal evidence—consistency, accuracy of the depiction of Egypt—is how we have to make a judgment.

But there is some evidence that something like the Exodus may have happened. And if it did, I think it probably happened during the reign of Ramses the Great.

The cities of Pithom and Ramses are indeed real; they existed in the Delta, where the Israelites were. Here bricks, not stone, were used for storehouses; and bricks with straw were not made in Canaan. Pharaoh's city was not called "Tanis" as it was in later times, when the Exodus was written and the "Pharaoh's heart was hardened," as the Bible puts it, was indeed an Egyptian concept. Other egyptian references include midwives told to watch "two stones." This is probably a reference to Egyptian birthing stools, where women sat when giving birth. The serpent "act" is also plausible—I found a snake charmer who could hold a cobra that stiffened like a walking stick. And finally, the name "Moses" is pure Egyptian, meaning "birth."

The external evidence is intriguing. Ramses was probably the pharaoh of the Exodus. Ramses built in the Delta, including a capital, Pi-Ramses.
Papyrus Leiden says, "distribute grain rations to the soldier and to the Apiru

who transport stones to the great Pylon of Ramses." "Apiru" sounds like "Hebrew." The Merneptah Stela (year 5—1207 B.C.), named for the 13th son of Ramses, helps place the Exodus in time. "Canaan has been plundered into every sort of woe; Ashkelon has been overcome; Gezer has been captured. Yano'am was made nonexistent; Israel is laid waste, its seed is not." This is the earliest non-Biblical reference to Israel. A determinative hieroglyph suggests that Israel is a people, not a place; they were still wandering when the stela was carved. Counting backward, Exodus must have taken place during the reign of Ramses the Great (around year 20).

So what *did* happen? A handful of the children of Israel could have grown in the telling to 600,000 people. A national history was written by Hebrew scholars for Hebrews, but there are kernels of truth the archaeologists still debate. ■

Suggested Reading

The Bible, Exodus 1–14.

Ernest S. Frerichs and Leonard H. Lesko, *Exodus, the Egyptian Evidence*.

Questions to Consider

1. Is there any archaeological evidence for the Exodus?

2. Is there any internal evidence for the Exodus?

The Decline of Dynasty XIX

Lecture 33

I want to tell you about the mummy of Ramses the Great. Because it maybe gives us a clue as to why Egypt started its long slide.

The mummy of Ramses revealed a great deal about his last years. Discovered in the Deir el Bahri cache, it remained in Cairo for a century, rehydrating and growing fungi. No one ever thought a mummy needed conservation like other objects. It is the only pharaoh's mummy ever to leave Egypt.

Taken to Paris (in 1976) for treatment, Ramses had 89 species of fungi growing on him. Gamma-ray irradiation was used to kill the growths; we're not sure whether the DNA was affected. Placed in a case of nitrogen "azote" made by the Getty Conservation Institute, Ramses was now fully sterilized and given a clean bill of health before being returned to Cairo. Ramses also had arteriosclerosis, not to mention a hole in his mandible from an infection that may have killed him. X-rays show Ramses's heart on the wrong side, sewn in with gold thread. Perhaps the embalmers made a mistake and repaired it with gold "eternal" thread. Ramses's red hair may have had religious significance, because the followers of Seth were said to be red-headed.

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Ramses the Great, third king of Dynasty XIX.

The 13th son of Ramses, Merneptah must have been 60 when he became king. Merneptah, "the beloved of Ptah," ruled from 1212–1202 B.C. His famous Victory Stela (year 5) was found by Petrie at

his mortuary temple at Thebes. It describes his Canaanite campaign: "Israel is devastated, its seed is no more." For a long time, some thought he was the pharaoh of the Exodus. One of his inscriptions on Karnak Temple tells of "the uncircumcised phalli of 6,359 Libyans killed [and] carried off." Because the Egyptians were circumcised, they cut the penises off the enemy corpses as proof of a body count. Although traditionally the Egyptians cut off enemy hands, perhaps they used a different tack this time to avoid the accusation that they killed women.

The XIXth Dynasty ends in this very strange way, with a woman ruling Egypt.

Merneptah's tomb in the Valley of the Kings is one of the most interesting. In 1920, Howard Carter discovered 13 large alabaster jars near the tomb; the inscriptions on the jars indicated that they had held the sacred oils used in the mummification of Merneptah. Merneptah was buried in three nested sarcophagi of pink Aswan granite. The sarcophagi and walls of his tomb were decorated with religious texts from "The Book of Gates."

Amenmesses, son of Merneptah (1202–1199 B.C.), is a mystery king. He was not the crown prince but became pharaoh. The son of a minor wife, Takhat, he built a tomb in the Valley of the Kings (KV 10). Seti II (1199–1193 B.C.) succeeded Amenmesses and erased his name, a common practice in ancient Egypt. The worst fate that could befall a pharaoh was to be ignored by history—it was also a convenient way to take credit for other pharaohs' work. He had three queens, or wives. Tiaa was the mother of Siptah, the next king. Twosret would later actually rule Egypt. Seti II built a boat shrine at Karnak for the sacred barques of Amun, Mut, and Khonsu. The mummy of Siptah (1193–1187 B.C.), the son of Seti II, was found in the Deir el Bahri cache. He had a deformed foot, possibly from polio.

Twosret (1187–1185 B.C.), the stepmother of Siptah, ruled as king, a sign of turmoil in Egypt. She had a small tomb (KV 14) for herself in the Valley of the Kings. She had a separate small burial for jewelry that was discovered in 1908. One level contained a considerable amount of gold leaf, but most impressive was a necklace and pair of silver gloves containing eight finger rings. ■

Suggested Reading

Peter Clayton, *Chronicle of the Pharaohs*, pp. 156–159.

Aidan Dodson, *Monarchs of the Nile*, Chapter XII.

Questions to Consider

1. Why is Merneptah considered by some to be the pharaoh of the Exodus?

2. What indications are there of Egypt's eventual decline?

Dynasty XX—The Decline Continues

Lecture 34

The decline continues in the next dynasty. And I want to talk about that dynasty—Dynasty XX. There are going to be some interesting things here. We're going to see mysterious peoples trying to invade Egypt; the "Sea Peoples." And we'll see Egypt weakening. And we'll also look at the reign of one pharaoh carefully, Ramses III, to see what indications there are of this decline.

Setnakht, "Set is victorious" (1185–1182 B.C.), is a mystery. Who was he? As soon as he became king, Setnakht erased Twosret's name from her tomb in the Valley of the Kings. Papyrus Harris, 113 feet long and dated the day Ramses III died, gives some other clues about him. The papyrus was supposed to be buried with Ramses III but was found in a private tomb in 1855. Perhaps the robbers of Ramses III's tomb found the papyrus and sold it as a Book of the Dead. Because most of them couldn't read, they may not have even known it was a historical papyrus. The papyrus tells of the beginning of the dynasty. Setnakht put down Asiatic rebellions, reopened temples, and restored order.

Ramses III (1182–1151 B.C.) was perhaps the last great Egyptian pharaoh. The Libyans tried to invade (year 5), but Ramses crushed them. The Sea Peoples, a confederation of Philistines, Sicilians, and other Mediterranean peoples, also attempted to invade Egypt. For them, this was a period of large-scale emigration. On walls are carved depictions of women and children in ox carts. A land battle repelled them at the border of Egypt. At the mouth of the Nile, a landlocked sea battle favored the Egyptians, who were not great sailors. Again, the Sea Peoples were repelled.

Papyrus Harris also tells of Ramses's great achievements. He gave immense gifts to the temples: land, cattle, cloth, oil, wine. Numerous successful military campaigns were chronicled. The economy of Egypt was described as booming. Medinet Habu, Ramses's mortuary temple, served different purposes. Its main function was as a mortuary temple where Ramses could be worshiped after his death. It has fortress-like towers that show a Syrian

influence. Medinet Habu was also used as a palace when Ramses was in Thebes for official occasions.

Ramses III buried his sons Amunhirkepshef and Khaemwaset in the Valley of the Queens. (These are also the names of the sons of Ramses the Great [II]; Ramses III was unrelated to Ramses the Great but wanted to be like him.)

The Harem Conspiracy Papyrus tells of a plot by one of Ramses's queens to kill her husband so her son could become king. Magic was used to try to kill Ramses. More than two dozen conspirators close to the king were convicted. The records indicate that Ramses died before the conspirators were executed.

Corel Stock Photo Library.

Wall painting in the Tomb of Nakht showing a servant girl adjusting an earring at a concert scene.

Ramses's tomb (KV 11) was intended for Setnakht originally but abandoned when it hit another tomb. Good spaces in the Valley were running out. There is an unusual secular scene of two harpists painted on the tomb wall. Because James Bruce discovered it in 1769, it has been called "Bruce's tomb." Ramses's mummy, found in the Deir el Bahri cache, became the model for mummy movies. Ramses III was succeeded by three sons.

Ramses IV, the first son to succeed, ruled for just six years (1151–1145 B.C.). He was the son of Ramses III, so his claim to the throne was legitimate. He sent workers to the Wadi Hammamat for black granite to make statues of the gods, a sign of prosperity.

Ramses V (1145–1141 B.C.) was another legitimate successor with a short reign. He was another son of Ramses III. His mummy has spots on the

face that suggest smallpox. Ramses VI (1141–1133 B.C.) was probably a weak ruler. He was the third son of Ramses III to become king. Durring his reign, foreign territories began slipping away and the turquoise mines were abandoned.

Ramses VII (1133–1126 B.C.) was a grandson of Ramses III. The son of Ramses VI, he saw the decline of the dynasty continue. There was economic turmoil in Egypt, and prices soared.

Not a great deal is known of the next several pharaohs. Ramses VIII (1126 B.C.) ruled for only a year, and little is known of him. Ramses IX ruled from 1126–1108 B.C. He had a long reign, during which the royal tombs were robbed. The king could no longer protect the Valley. Depositions by participants even date the tomb robbing. Of Ramses X (1108–1098 B.C.) little is known, other than that all foreign territories were lost during his reign.

Ramses XI (1098–1070 B.C.) was the last of the dynasty. The "Tale of Wenamum" aptly describes the times. Wenamum, an official, was sent to Byblos to buy cedarwood but was robbed and treated poorly, a sign of the declining reputation of the kingdom. He procured the wood but only after waiting for months. The "Tale of Wenamum" refers to Heri-Hor, the powerful high priest of Amun who took control of Egypt. He first held the office of viceroy to Kush. He decorated the Temple of Khonsu at Karnak and is shown to be the same size as the king. In year 24, he wrote his name in a cartouche. He ruled in the south while Ramses XI ruled from the Delta. He called the years of his reign "repetition of births," literally *renaissance*. ■

Suggested Reading

Peter A. Clayton, *Chronicle of the Pharaohs*, pp. 160–171.

N. K. Sandars, *The Sea Peoples*.

Questions to Consider

1. What new indications of a decline do we get in this dynasty?

2. What must have been the main concern of Ramses III?

Ancient Egyptian Magic

Lecture 35

Magic was so central to the ancient Egyptian world that I want to take a little bit of a chronological detour today. I want to not continue chronologically for the pharaohs, but I want to talk just about magic, and what magic was to the Egyptians.

We have already discussed the differences between mythology, philosophy, and religion. Now we consider magic. Magic and religion, although they have many similarities, are very different. The supernatural element is present in both magic and religion: Each tries to deal with events beyond the laws of physics. We might call this *parapsychology* today. In religion, we call such events *miracles*. Magic is always goal-oriented; prayer or devotion, on the other hand, doesn't have to have a specific objective, because belief itself is sufficient. The difference between a magician and a priest is that the magician is the agent of change, while the priest is an intermediary.

The Egyptians had plenty of both religion and magic. They had, for example, a goddess of magic, Heka. (Most of the gods associated with magic were women.) Isis, too, had magic capability, as in "She Who Knows Everyone's Name." Egyptians often had two names—one of them, public; the other known only by one's mother.

There are three basic elements of magic. The spell, the spoken part of magic, has its own logic. The spell obeyed certain principles. A critical precept was *the word is the deed*. The ritual involves a physical performance, such as burning incense or drawing a protective circle—in this way it resembles theater. Some spells, for example, prevented one from being bitten by a scorpion at night. To enforce such spells, the Egyptians had magical wands made of bone or ivory to make a magic circle and complete the ritual.

Magicians were heroic, because they controlled the forces of nature. There were priest magicians associated with traditional temples (in the Old

Testament, pharaoh called for his priest magicians, or "scribes of the house of life") and lay magicians, especially in rural areas.

Magical practices varied considerably, depending on the desired goal. Egyptians were resurrectionists and viewed the next world as much like this one, only better. They believed that labor would still be needed in the next world. Servant statues, called *ushabtis ("I'm answering")*, were intended to come to life in the next world and do work for the deceased. Some Egyptians buried 365 such statues, standing with arms crossed and inscribed with magical spells. Some *ushabtis* were made from the quartzite paste *faience*. Many *ushabtis* have magical spells from the Book of the Dead. (The sorcerer's apprentice scene from Disney's *Fantasia* recalls this.) For every 10 *ushabtis*, there was an overseer who was not required to do manual labor.

Magic was just absolutely essential to the ancient Egyptian worldview.

Oracle statues could tell the future and were said to be capable of talking and deciding legal cases. One record tells of an oracle statue "solving" a crime.

The most dominant form of magic in ancient Egypt was amulets, small ornaments worn for protection. The Egyptians had different amulets for the living and for the dead. The Eye of Horus amulet was worn for good health. Our pharmacists' Rx is a corruption of the Eye. The scarab (beetle) was probably the most common amulet. It represented continued existence. (The Egyptians believed the scarab could procreate without both sexes being present.) Surprisingly, the ankh (a looped cross), which stood for life, was the rarest of all amulets. The Djed Pillar amulet represented the backbone of Osiris and was primarily for the dead. Not only shape but also color and material were considerations in making amulets. ■

Suggested Reading

Bob Brier, *Ancient Egyptian Magic*.

Wallis Budge, *Egyptian Magic*.

Questions to Consider

1. What are the three basic elements of magic?

2. How does magic differ from religion?

Dynasty XXI—Egypt Divided

Lecture 36

The Dynasty XXI, is unique. It's in a sense a tale of two cities. We have two simultaneous dynasties ruling. ... We have the descendents of Heri-Hor, this high priest, calling themselves kings, ruling from Thebes. And in the North, we have a totally separate dynasty, also calling themselves kings.

Priest kings ruled from Thebes (1080–945 B.C.). Heri-Hor (1080–1074 B.C.) died before Ramses XI, but he set the stage for other priest kings. Piankh (1074–1070 B.C.) was both king and high priest of Amun. He died around the same time as Ramses XI.

Pinedjem I (1070–1032 B.C.) married the daughter of Ramses XI (Henetowey I), so these are not warring factions. He inspected the Valley of the Kings and restored damaged mummies. This was a sign that Egypt was weak and couldn't protect the royal necropolis. Egyptians dated years according to who was king—a "pharaoh-centric" calendar. Pinedjem dated his reign as during the rule of Smendes I, the real king, in the Delta—another sign of peaceful coexistence. When Pinedjem's *ushabtis* began appearing on the antiquities market in the 1870s, the search for a royal tomb began in earnest. The *ushabtis* still occasionally appear on the market.

Masaherta (1054–1046 B.C.) was Pinedjem's son and High Priest of Amun but wasn't very important. Menkheperre (1045–992 B.C.) was another son of Pinedjem and also a High Priest of Amun. The pattern had been set. Smendes II (992–990 B.C.) was a son of Menkheperre. Pinedjem II (990–969 B.C.) was another son of Menkheperre. He carried out an inspection of the royal tombs and found that virtually all of them had been robbed. He brought the royal bodies together for safety away from the Valley of the Kings. His burial was found intact in the same royal cache, probably his original burial place.

Of Psusennes "III" (969–945 B.C.), nothing is known; his name appears in many different forms because a consistent transliteration for it is lacking. This is the last of the high priests ruling out of Thebes.

The kings of Tanis (1069–945 B.C.) ruled from the Delta in the north. These were the "official" kings. Smendes I (1069–1043 B.C.) declared himself king after the death of Ramses XI. He moved the capital from Piramesse to Tanis. Many of Ramses II's works (statues, obelisks) were transferred with him. This caused early excavators to think Tanis was Piramesse.

What we've had are two dynasties I think peacefully co-existing. They exchange family members, they send a granite sarcophagus lid north, for one. … It's not the warring Hatfields and McCoys that a lot of people think.

Amenemnisu (1043–1039 B.C.) was the son of Heri-Hor, the high priest of Thebes, another sign that Thebes and Tanis were cooperating. Psusennes I (1039–991 B.C.) was the longest reigning king of this dynasty. His intact tomb was discovered, rivaling even Tutankhamen's. He had been buried in the sarcophagus of Merneptah in nested coffins. He also had his own silver coffin with a gold mask. They were not poor!

Another cache of royal mummies was preserved by these Theban priest-kings of Dynasty XXI. In 1898, Victor Loret discovered the tomb of Amenhotep II, a discovery that would eventually lead to Loret's having a nervous breakdown. The tomb had been plundered in antiquity. But in a side room, Loret found the mummies of an old woman, a prince, and a young woman. Because they all had holes in their heads, he began to wonder if he had found a case of human sacrifice. In another sealed-off side-chamber he found the biggest surprise: nine more mummies in coffins. Loret had found another royal cache, similar to the one at Deir el Bahri. Here were the mummies of Amenhotep III, Merneptah, and seven others! This explains how Psusennes came to be buried with the lid of Merneptah's sarcophagus. The latter's body had been moved to the tomb of Amenhotep II for safe-keeping, but not the huge sarcophagus. Instead, it was shipped north to Tanis.

Amenemope (993–984 B.C.) was the son of Psusennes I. Buried at Tanis in his mother's tomb, next to his father's, he too had a gold face mask. Osorkon the Elder (984–978 B.C.) is a puzzle. Not much is known about him.

Siamum (978–959 B.C.) seems to have been quite active. He built extensively at the Temple of Amun (god of Thebes) at Tanis. He rewrapped several royal mummies at Thebes, showing concern for tradition. There is a Biblical connection with Siamum. This is the period when David fought the Philistines and united the tribes of Israel. David's son, Solomon, married an Egyptian princess, thought to be a daughter of Siamum; now Egypt's princesses were "marrying out." The dynasty ended with Psusennes II (959–945 B.C.).

There is an interesting consequence of these kings of Dynasty XXI, who hid the bodies of their ancestors in places no one could have predicted. When Victor Loret first entered the tomb of Amenhotep II, he found three mummies. An Egyptologist noticed that the left arm of one of them—"the elder lady"—was placed across the chest in a position often reserved for royalty. All three mummies were of the New Kingdom. But it was unclear who they might be. Among the thousands of items found in Tutankhamen's tomb, it turned out, was a tiny mummy-shaped box with the name of Queen Tiye on it. Inside was a lock of hair, a keepsake from Tutankhamen's grandmother. Because hair is chemically unique, it was decided to compare the hair in the box with that of the "elder lady." With permission from the Egyptian government, Dr. James Harris, an expert on royal mummies, had them tested and concluded that they were a match. ■

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Apis bull from the Sakkara burial ground in Memphis, Egypt.

Suggested Reading

Peter A. Clayton, *Chronicle of the Pharaohs*, pp. 182–189.

Aidan Dodson, *Monarchs of the Nile*, Chapter XIV.

Questions to Consider

1. How did the priests become kings?

2. What are the signs of wealth of the kings of Tanis?

Dynasty XXII—Egypt United

Lecture 37

Last time we ended with Egypt divided. We had the high priest of Amun in the south in Thebes, ruling from there, and we had a separate dynasty ruling at the same time in the north. Well, this time we are going to see Egypt united again. But it's going to be under foreigners.

We have several sources of information for Dynasty XXII. French Egyptologist Auguste Mariette's 1851 excavation of the Serapeum provided details of kings' reigns. Delta monuments, now mostly underground because of the high water table in the area, provide fragmentary clues. The Bubastite Portal at Karnak tells of conquests by these kings and depicts bound captives with their towns of origin.

Sheshonq I (945–924 B.C.) married the daughter of Psusennes II. As commander-in-chief of all the army, he was called "Great Chief of the Meshwesh." During this time, Libyan mercenaries were used in Egypt as a police force. As is often the case, when there's turmoil, the military steps in. Sheshonq himself was likely the descendant of captives that Ramses III had brought back to Egypt. The Libyan mercenaries gradually became integrated into Egyptian society. Sheshonq appointed sons to key positions to keep power in the family, as Sneferu of the Old Kingdom had done. Iuput was Sheshonq's Governor of Upper Egypt, High Priest of Amun, and Commander-in-chief of Armies. Djedptahaufankh was Third Prophet of Amun. Nimlot was military commander at Herakleopolis, in middle Egypt.

Sheshonq launched a military campaign, mentioned in the Bible, after the death of Solomon in 930 B.C. In Palestine, there were the divided kingdoms of Judah (under Solomon's son, Rehoboam) and Israel (under Jeroboam I). Sheshonq (the Biblical Shishak) was bought off by Rehoboam (925 B.C.) and left Judah. One of the things he *wasn't* given was the Ark of the Covenant. He chased out Jeraboam and marched north to Megiddo, where he erected a stela, just as Tuthmosis III had done, claiming the land for his own. He built on a grand scale, erecting the largest pylon at Karnak, on the river. You can

still see the ramp used in building it. He was buried at Tanis, but his tomb was plundered.

Osorkon I (924–889 B.C.) was Sheshonq's son. He gave 487,000 pounds of silver to the temples. He appointed his son (Sheshonq II) as High Priest of Amun at Karnak. He took Sheshonq II as coregent, but the son died before the father and was buried at Tanis.

Much of what we know about this dynasty is due to Pierre Montet, a French Egyptologist who excavated at Tanis. Montet believed Tanis was the Biblical "Peramses." In 1939 he found the tombs of the kings of Dynasties XXI and XXII. They had been buried in the precinct of the main temple of Amun. Hieroglyphs in one room revealed it was the tomb of Psusennes I, but the silver coffin with a falcon's head contained a previously unknown king, Sheshonq II. In 1940, Montet found another chamber, sealed with a granite block that took six days to chip away. This was the tomb of Psusennes II. Montet opened another sealed room, on orders of King Farouk himself, to find the intact burial of Psusennes's son Amenemope. In 1946, Montet found another hidden chamber where he discovered the intact burial of Psusennes's general. Had these treasures not been found during World War II and published only in French, public fascination would have been enormous.

Egypt allies itself with Byblos and Israel and marches north and stops the Assyrians on the Orontes River, far away from the border of Egypt.

Takelot I (889–874 B.C.) was the son of Osorkon I by a minor wife; little is known about him. He was succeeded by Osorkon II, who ruled from 874–850 B.C. Osorkon's cousin, Harsiese, High Priest at Karnak, declared himself King of the South (year 4)! When Harsiese died, Osorkon II appointed one of his sons, Nimlot, to the office. Assyria at this time was growing strong, moving into Syria. Egypt aligned itself with Byblos and Israel to stop Assyria at the Orontes River.

The reign of Osorkon's son, Takelot II (850–825 B.C.), had stability of wealth but was troubled by civil war. The great wealth of Egypt—her agriculture—was almost impossible to kill and the wealth reflected Egypt's power. But his reign was also troubled by civil war. In one case, he killed the leaders of a rebellion and burned their bodies, denying them immortality. A competing dynasty, XXIII, arose (year 8) in the central Delta town of Leontopolis and "ruled" in the Delta.

Osorkon IV (730-715 B.C.) concluded the Bubastite Dynasty XXII. Thus, the unification brought by the Libyans ended in some divisiveness. But Egypt was soon to be reunited—from a surprising place. ■

Suggested Reading

Peter A. Clayton, *Chronicle of the Pharaohs*, pp. 182–189.

Aidan Dodson, *Monarchs of the Nile*, Chapter XV.

Questions to Consider

1. How did Libyans become kings of Egypt?

2. What connection is there between the Libyans and the Bible?

Dynasties XXIV and XXV— The Nubians Have Their Day

Lecture 38

Last time we were talking about the Libyans, and the dynasty ended with fragmentation. There were different factions claiming to be king in the north. And I mentioned that we're going to have Egypt united again, but this time from a surprise place, the Nubians. … Let's talk about who the Nubians were, what they were to the ancient Egyptians.

Nubia (Kush) was the source of gold and had been under the thumb of Egypt for 1,000 years. But with troubles in Egypt, the Nubians had been allowed to grow independent. Piye (called "Piankhy") (747–716 B.C.) ruled at Napata in Nubia. With skilled bowmen, Piye marched north and fought a northern confederation (year 21) that included the following: Osorkon IV at Tanis (Dynasty XXII), Iuput at Leontopolis (Dynasty XXIII), Teftnakht at Sais (Dynasty XXIV), and Nimlot at Hermopolis. Piye won! He celebrated the traditional Opet Festival at Thebes.

Piye's victory stela was found at the Temple of Amun at Gebel Barkal (in Nubia), a unique monument. In the 1980s, Dr. Tim Kendall guessed that a rugged mountain outcropping in the form of a cobra had been sculpted by the Egyptians. He learned mountain-climbing techniques and went for a closer look. Kendall found the remains of nail holes and scaffolding at a place where a carved metal plaque had been attached.

Piye continued to rule from Napata, which is perhaps why he left regional rulers to control their own territories. He was buried at el Kuru, a pyramid cemetery north of Gebel Barkal. These were steep, small pyramids, but still in an Egyptian style suggesting the Old Kingdom. Egyptian customs such as *ushabtis* and grave goods were continued. Nubian burial customs were also incorporated. Piye was buried on a bed; his chariot and horses were buried in teams standing up.

Shabaka (716–702 B.C.) succeeded his brother Piye, as was the Nubian custom. Shabaka built temples at Thebes, Memphis, and Abydos—the traditional centers of Egypt. He too was buried at el Kuru in a pyramid. We see a new hero in Taharqa (690–664 B.C.). He built everywhere, but only the Taharqa Pillar at Karnak remains. He battled the Assyrians at Judea. The Bible (Kings) says the Angel of the Lord slew many Assyrians the night before the battle. Herodotus says that on the night before the battle, mice ate the bowstrings of the Assyrians, forcing them to retreat.

Taharqa defeated Esarhaddon, king of Assyria, at Ashkelon (year 17) but lost at Memphis (year 19) and had to flee to Thebes. When there was a rebellion in the north, a new Assyrian king, Ashurbanipal returned from Egypt and executed all nobles except Necho. Taharqa fled to Napata, and Ashurbanipal now controlled Thebes. Tanuatamun (664–656 B.C.), Taharqa's cousin, became coregent and later ruled on his own. He entered Egypt to fight Ashurbanipal and got as far as Memphis, but after a defeat, he retreated to Kush. Thebes was sacked and its treasures were looted. The Assyrians now controlled all of Egypt.

Piye was most concerned about horses when he defeated the Egyptians. Finding the animals poorly cared for, he punished their masters.

The Nubian presence in Egypt has been the source of much controversy of late. "Afrocentrism" is the recent theory that holds that more of Western civilization is derived from Africa (Egypt) than is generally acknowledged. The ancient Greek tradition (Herodotus) said Greece learned it all from Egypt: Building in stone began in Egypt, the Greek gods came from Egypt, Greek philosophy is perhaps derived from Egypt. The 19th-century classicists said that the ancient Greeks were mistaken about their heritage. Greek mathematicians, for example, didn't study in Egypt. But there's no question that much of Greek culture did derive from the land of the pharaohs.

The question arises: Were the Egyptians black? One argument is that Africans are black; Egypt is in Africa; therefore, all Egyptians are black. The only part of that argument that is true is that Egypt is part of Africa. Politically, we

are supposed to see people in black and white. But there are no pure races; people come in all shades. The Egyptians saw themselves as different from sub-Saharan peoples, including Nubians. Tomb walls show Nubians with clearly different features. Maiherpri's Book of the Dead clearly reveals him to be black. Afrocentrics claim that the "black" noses of Egyptian statues were knocked off by early Egyptologists. There may have been racists among early Egyptologists, but the statues were found that way in the first place. Those interested in black pride should look for inspiration to the Nubian kings, sub-Saharan warriors who conquered all of Egypt. ■

Suggested Reading

Peter A. Clayton, *Chronicle of the Pharaohs*, pp. 190–193.

Aidan Dodson, *Monarchs of the Nile*, Chapter XVI.

Questions to Consider

1. How did the Nubians view themselves in relation to the Egyptians?

2. What did the Nubian kings hope to achieve in Egypt?

Dynasty XXVI—The Saite Period

Lecture 39

Last time we ended with the Assyrians controlling Egypt… What we're going to see today in Dynasty XXVI is really three phases. … We'll see Egypt dominated by Assyria. Then we'll see Egypt free of Assyria. They're going to kick them out; there's good news. And then we're going to see Babylonia becoming the new threat.

Necho I (665–664 B.C.) was placed on the throne by Ashurbanipal as his vassal. A stable period of succession began with Necho's son and successor, Psamtik I (664–610 B.C.). Psamtik was told by the Assyrians to control the Egyptians. He sent Nitocris, his daughter, to Thebes as Divine Adoratrice of Amun. He increased the Egyptian army by using mercenaries from the Mediterranean, many of them Greek. Naucratis became a great Greek city in the Delta with temples to the Greek gods. In the twelfth year of his reign, Psamtik I ousted the Assyrians, who were having internal problems. The Assyrian domination was over. *Archaising*, or living in the past, was an attempt to regain the "good old days" during this period.

Necho II (610–595 B.C.), the son of Psamtik, looked outward to other nations. He recaptured Palestine, as mentioned in the Second Book of Kings; enlisted Greeks to form an Egyptian navy; and dug a "Suez Canal" from a branch of the Nile to the Red Sea. His son, Psamtik II (595–589 B.C.) succeeded Necho II, but not much is known about him. Psamtik II campaigned into Nubia as far as the third cataract. His soldiers carved graffito on the leg of the colossal statue of Ramses II at Abu Simbel, telling of foreigners in his campaign. He campaigned briefly in Palestine to support a revolt of Zedekiah against Nebuchadnezzar II of Babylon, which turns out to have been a crucial period for the Jews; Jerusalem was destroyed in 587 B.C.

During the "Babylonian Captivity" (587–539 B.C.), one-third of the Jewish population was taken to Babylon ("Gate of God"), another third settled on Elephantine Island in Egypt, and another third was left behind. Why, the Jews wondered, was their fate so terrible? The answer: They were being tested by Yaweh, who would give his law to all people by dispersing the

Prints and Photographs Division, Library of Congress, LC-USZ62-99999.

Greek geographer and historian Strabo.

Jews. Of the three centers of Judaism, Egypt was probably the most important in terms of preserving the faith. Much of Judaism in Europe and America may be derived from Jews who immigrated to Egypt during this time.

Apries (589–570 B.C.) was the son and successor of Psamtik II. During his reign, he first battled the Syrians. Then he made a mistake: He helped the Libyans against Greek invaders—and lost. Civil war erupted. The Egyptian general Amasis, a commoner, defeated Apries and seized the throne.

Amasis (570–526 B.C.), seemingly pro-Greek, made peace with foreigners. He helped rebuild the Temple of Apollo at Delphi that burned (year 22). During his reign, Naucratis became a great city. Excavated by Flinders Petrie in 1884, following a reference from Herodotus, the city had Greek gods and temples. Located ideally for trade, not far from the capital, the city was navigated in flat-bottomed boats during inundation. There was a huge enclosure wall, 850 by 750 feet long, 40 feet high, and 50 feet thick. To maximize security, there was only one entrance. Two buildings were found, one of them a granary in case the inhabitants had to withstand prolonged attack. Petrie also found a Greek scarab factory where amulets were manufactured in molds by the thousands. By this time, Babylon, the enemy, was destroyed, only to have the Persians as a new threat.

Psamtik III (526–525 B.C.), Amasis's successor, inherited the Persian problem. He was defeated by the Persians at Pelusium, the eastern entrance to Egypt. When he fled to Memphis, he was captured. He became probably

the first Egyptian king captured by foreigners, and he was taken to Susa, the Persian capital. ■

Suggested Reading

Peter A. Clayton, *Chronicle of the Pharaohs*, pp. 194–198.

Aidan Dodson*, Monarchs of the Nile*, Chapter XVII.

Questions to Consider

1. How did the Assyrians view Egyptian culture?

2. Why were the Egyptians interested in archaising?

Dynasty XXVII—The Persians

Lecture 40

I want to talk today about the Persian domination of Egypt, but we're going to have a little fun today. I want to present Herodotus's version, our Greek tourist who went to Egypt. I want to present his version of how Egypt got into this fix, how did Psamtik get captured, and why are the Persians coming into Egypt.

Cambyses II (525–522 B.C.) entered Egypt. Herodotus offered three versions of the invasion. Some Egyptologists believe Herodotus was never in Egypt. He never mentioned the Sphinx, for example (periodically covered with sand), and he wrote that the pyramids of Giza were covered with inscriptions about bread, and onions, and beer. But Herodotus, it seems, really *was* there. He only reported what he was told, and some of that turned out to be nonsense. As for his versions of the Persian invasion: Cambyses, he wrote in the first version, asked for Amasis's daughter as mistress but was sent another girl instead in an attempted trick. He became enraged by the ruse and invaded Egypt out of anger. In the second version, it was Cambyses's father, Cyrus, who was sent the beautiful Egyptian girl, and Cambyses's mother was subsequently ignored because her father was so enraptured. The 10-year-old Cambyses promised to turn Egypt upside-down when he finally came of age. In a third version, Phanes, a Greek mercenary in Egypt, was dissatisfied with his lot. He defected to Cambyses and offered to show him how to invade Egypt, even across the treacherous Syrian desert. A Bedouin king would have camels with water skins waiting for them in Egypt—a pipeline for the Persian army.

Herodotus tells of a great deal more in the Persian invasion. He says Phanes's sons were killed in front of him before the battle and their blood was drunk by the Greeks of the Egyptian Army. But Egypt was routed. Cambyses sent a herald to work out terms after the battle, but the Egyptians at Memphis tore him to bits and destroyed his ship. Cambyses took Memphis and leveled it in reprisal. Herodotus also tells of how the Egyptian and Persian skeletons were separated after the battle and that the Egyptian skulls were "thicker" than the Persian ones because of their adaptation to the sun. Because this

was an eyewitness account, perhaps Herodotus was shown a cemetery that he was told was a battlefield and was told a fantastic story. Cambyses, testing Psamtik's will, had his son and other captives paraded with bridles in their mouths, being led to execution. Psamtik didn't weep for his son, only crying when he saw a captured friend reduced to begging. When asked why he hadn't cried for his son also, he responded that his suffering was too great for tears. Cambyses was reportedly moved by this and took Psamtek into his palace. But Psamtik plotted against the Persians and was killed.

Herodotus tells another fantastic story about Cambyses and Ethiopia. Cambyses sent spies disguised as gift-bearers to the king of Ethiopia, who dismissed the gifts as false. The adventure finally led to a botched invasion of Ethiopia by Cambyses and ended with subsequent cannibalism in the ranks. One in 10 was killed to be eaten by the others. Cambyses returned to Memphis and killed the Apis bull because he thought the Egyptians were rejoicing over his lost army.

[Psamtik III] becomes what I believe is the first king in the history of Egypt to be captured by foreigners and taken out of Egypt captive.

Cambyses's successor, Darius I (521–486 B.C.), took greater interest in Egypt and built temples. His successor Xerxes, however, had 20 years of problems. He put down the Egyptian rebellion, but it did not end the unrest. In 465 B.C., the Egyptians revolted again because the Satrap Achaemenes (Xerxes's son) was so brutal.

After Xerxes assassination, the next several kings presided over a decline in Persian influence. Artaxerxes I (465–424 B.C.) had a long reign, but it was not without its problems. The son of Psamtik III, Inaros of Heliopolis, led a major revolt. The Egyptians were defeated and Inaros was executed (454 B.C.). Darius II (423–405 B.C.) was plagued by Egyptian discontent, and the Egyptians finally became independent of Persian rule. Artaxerxes II (405–359 B.C.), the last Persian to rule, didn't even write his name in a cartouche. Persian rule of Egypt was over. ■

Suggested Reading

Peter A. Clayton, *Chronicle of the Pharaohs*, pp. 198–200.

Alan Gardiner, *Egypt of the Pharaohs*, pp. 363–372.

Questions to Consider

1. How much can we trust Herodotus's account of the Persian invasion of Egypt?

2. How do you think the Egyptians viewed the Persians?

Dynasties XXVIII–XXXI—The Beginning of the End

Lecture 41

Last time we finally had the Persians out of Egypt, and we have an Egyptian on the throne again? Well, it's not going to last for long. Today I want to talk about, in a sense, the final decline of Egyptian civilization. It's a time when we'll see the last native ruler of Egypt on the throne.

Dynasty XXVIII had only one king, and he wasn't much. Amyrtaeus (404–399 B.C.) was a prince at Sais who declared himself king, but little is known of him. Dynasty XXIX (399–380 B.C.) moved the capital from Sais to Mendes, also in the Delta. There were only two kings. Nepherites I ruled for six years (399–393 B.C.). Achoris (393–380 B.C.) was the second and last ruler of the dynasty.

Dynasty XXX (380–343 B.C.) contained the last native rulers of Egypt. Nectanebo I (380–362 B.C.) ousted Achoris's son and declared himself king. Combined Greek and Persian forces entered Egypt during the Nile's inundation, and Nectanebo repelled them. But the Greeks and Persians, it turned out, didn't trust each other very much. Nectanebo reconstructed several temples. He built his own kiosk, or small temple, on Philae. Djedhor (Teos) (362–360 B.C.) was the son and successor of Nectanebo. While he was out of the country, his son declared his own son (Djedhor's grandson) pharaoh.

Nectanebo II, the grandson of Djedhor, hired 20,000 Greek mercenaries to fight the Persians at Pelusium—but lost. Nectanebo erected a shrine to the Dog Star, which rose in July when the Nile did. The Egyptian calendar was important; in fact, our own calendar derives from it. There were three seasons: inundation, emergence, and the dry season. Each season had four months, and each month had three weeks of 10 days each, yielding 360 days. To synchronize the calendar with the solar year, the Egyptians added five days, dedicated to feasting and the gods. Nectanebo's basalt sarcophagus, now in the British Museum, was found in Alexandria.

Nectanebo fled to Nubia and disappeared from history. A medieval "Alexander Romance" says Nectanebo fled to the Macedonian court as an Egyptian magician, bedded Olympias (Philip II's wife), and thus was the father of Alexander the Great. (Alexander was Egyptian!)

Egypt worshiped the same gods for thousands of years.

Dynasty XXXI (343–332 B.C.) was the second Persian period. Artaxerxes III (343–338 B.C.) took command. Temples were sacked, sacred bulls slain, treasures robbed. An absentee king, he was poisoned in Susa. Arses (338–336 B.C.) was another absentee king. He too was murdered, as seems to have been the tradition in Persia. Darius III (336–332 B.C.) was the last of the dynasty. His satrap, Mazaeus, opened the gates of the kingdom to Alexander the Great (323 B.C.).

The death of Nectanebo II, the last native ruler of Egypt, was, in a sense, the end of the greatest civilization the world has ever known. The pharaoh, the military, and religion were supposed to be maintained in balance. After the intermediate periods of confusion, the people always returned to the pharaohs for stability. Egypt's history is defined by the pharaohs. We can trace their "book of the dead" over 3,000 years of history. Pyramid texts were the first form of this "book." After the First Intermediate Period, the pyramids were robbed and left open for all

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Nectanebo II, the third and final king of Dynasty XXX.

to see. The coffin texts were the commoners' version of the pyramid texts, literally written on their own coffins. By the Middle Kingdom, commoners had adopted the same texts as the pharaohs. When all the spells wouldn't fit on the coffins, they wrote them on papyrus and placed them inside. This is what we know as the Book of the Dead, the culmination of the pyramid and coffin texts.

The gods of this culture were constant, worshiped for thousands of years. The priests, the largest bureaucracy in the world, would soon give way to the Greeks, determined to run Egypt like a business. As Greek became the language of business, the ancient language and the hieroglyphs slowly died. ■

Suggested Reading

Peter A. Clayton, *Chronicle of the Pharaohs*, pp. 201, 205.

Aidan Dodson, *Monarchs of the Nile*, Chapter XVIII.

Questions to Consider

1. Who is the last native ruler of Egypt?

2. What were some of the factors that contributed to Egypt's final decline?

Alexander the Great

Lecture 42

Last time, I'm afraid I ended on a little bit of a down note. It was the end of the Egyptian Dynasty XXX … . It's the end of a great tradition, but I don't mean to suggest that it's the end of a great people and a great history in Egypt. We still have great characters coming.

Myth has it that Nectanebo II, the last native-born ruler of Egypt, may have been Alexander's father. But Alexander was clearly Macedonian—a Greek. Alexander began his legacy as a general. Philip II, Alexander's father, was assassinated (336 B.C.), and Alexander took control of the Macedonian army. He was loved by the soldiers, who would follow him anywhere. Twenty-year-old Alexander continued his father's fight against the Persians and defeated Darius III at Issus (333 B.C.). With the Persians defeated, Alexander entered Egypt as a liberator. Napoleon would later follow in his footsteps.

Alexander, who admired Egyptian culture, as did all Greeks, entered the country with different motives than most foreigners. He wanted to become the pharaoh, a "god." He undertook the dangerous journey to the distant Siwa Oasis, near the Libyan border, to consult the oracle of the temple of Amun. Oracles in the ancient world were taken very seriously, and Alexander needed the oracle's approval to become king. The priest of the temple was said to be clairvoyant. Alexander asked the oracle one question: "Who was my father?" The answer: "The sun." Thus, the oracle obligingly told Alexander that he was the "son of the sun." According to tradition, Alexander and his men became lost in the desert on the way to Siwa. Legend has it that the dying men were led to the oasis by crows. The temple of the oracle was high on a hill. We don't know what he saw there when he posed his question, but he probably wasn't permitted to enter the holy inner sanctum. Alexander was crowned as pharaoh at Memphis and built a temple at Luxor. He founded Alexandria with Dinocrates as the architect. Tradition says that they laid out the city streets on a grid to take advantage of Mediterranean breezes.

Alexander became Alexander the Great when he left Egypt soon thereafter, bent on further conquest. The logistics of the Macedonian army were incredible. Supplying food and water for 50,000 men dictated where and when they went. When one left with Alexander, it was for a 10-year campaign! Alexander went from Babylon to Susa to India and was never defeated. After his men refused to go on in India, the army began the long return. He sent back various specimens from his travels to his teacher, Aristotle.

There is a tradition that Alexander asked to be buried at Siwa also, because the oracle proclaimed him there a god.

The death of Alexander (323 B.C.) led to turmoil. He died of fever in Babylon while returning from India. "To whom does the empire go?" was the question his men had asked of Alexander. His reply: "To the fittest." The kingdom was divided among generals; Ptolemy, later Ptolemy I, got Egypt. Alexander's body was preserved in spices for a year in Babylon while a gold catafalque was prepared. The procession to Macedonia was led by mules with gold bells pulling the body, which had been preserved in white honey. The body was hijacked in Syria by Ptolemy and brought to Egypt, where it remained in Memphis for years while the *soma* (tomb) was being prepared. For years, the body lay in state. Finally Alexander was buried in Alexandria—and the search for his tomb goes on. ■

Suggested Reading

Arrian, *The Campaigns of Alexander the Great*.

Robin Lane Fox, *Alexander the Great*.

Questions to Consider

1. How was Alexander viewed by the Egyptians?

2. Why did Alexander go to the Siwa Oasis?

The First Ptolemies

Lecture 43

And his generals, knowing that Alexander was going to die, gathered around him and asked, "To whom does the empire go?" And Alexander's response was, "To the fittest." So there was no clear succession. There was no one person designated as "you get the empire." And eventually, the empire was divided amongst his generals including Ptolemy.

Ptolemy I first ruled Egypt as governor (323–305 B.C.) and later as king (305–282 B.C.). He ruled first as governor of Egypt in deference to the memory of Alexander. Alexander's retarded half-brother (Philip III Arrhidaeus) and Alexander's son by Roxanne (Alexander IV) were still alive and were possible rulers. Alexander's mother, Olympia, had her stepson, Philip III (323–317 B.C.), king of Egypt, assassinated so her grandson, Alexander IV, could rule. When Alexander IV (317–305 B.C.) and Roxanne were assassinated, Alexander's line came to an end. Ptolemy married the daughter of Nectanebo II and became king. He was called "Soter" (Savior) after he repelled an attack on Rhodes by one of Alexander's other generals. Ptolemy was clearly one of the "good" Ptolemies, although the dynasty, as we shall see, would rapidly decline over time.

Ptolemy Soter was committed to public works. The library of Alexandria was his creation, though no traces remain. It contained perhaps 700,000 "books," or papyrus scrolls. A Greek idea far removed from the secrecy of Egyptian religion, the library was a public place. A museum ("the place of the muses") was part of the library complex, the first think tank in history, supported by the state. At the museum, the tradition of working in teams began. Euclid wrote his *Elements of Geometry* (300 B.C.); Eratosthenes calculated the circumference of the earth; Hirophilus determined that the brain, not the heart, was the seat of intelligence. Still, we don't know where the library was located or why it disappeared.

The Pharos Lighthouse was another of Ptolemy's projects. Four hundred and twenty-three feet high, it was one of the few Seven Wonders of the Ancient World that was secular. It was on Pharos Island across the port from

Alexandria. The lighthouse had three tiers: a square base with an octagonal and then a circular level. It could be seen 30 miles away. A permanent fire was kept burning on the upper level, and its light was reflected by a huge mirror of bronze. Earthquakes damaged and finally destroyed the lighthouse in 1303. Sultan Qait Bay used the remaining blocks to build a fort on Pharos Island at the base of where the lighthouse stood in Alexandria Harbor.

The Ptolemies ran Egypt like a business. Egyptian temples were also built for Ptolemy's glory. The Ptolemies supported the priests as an educated class to administer the realm. There was heavy taxation—10 percent on all sales of land, for example—and the Ptolemies had monopolies on such items as papyrus. Emeralds and gold, heavily taxed, were mined by prisoners. The port of Alexandria exported excess grain, the main source of Egypt's wealth. The Ptolemies controlled banking and the flow of money. The Greeks simplified business in Egypt by introducing coins. Manetho's *History of Egypt* (*Aegyptiaka*) was written for the Ptolemies in Greek, the language of commerce. There were about 300,000 Greeks in Alexandria and seven million Egyptians throughout the country. Alexandria was called "the City"; the rest was Egypt. The Ptolemies remained in Alexandria. Thus was Egypt divided and ruled by an elite class.

These first Ptolemies, Ptolemy I and II, they do great things. But unfortunately, their descendants aren't so wonderful.

Ptolemy II Philadelphus (285–246 B.C.) continued the Greek trend. He reclaimed land by draining part of Fayoum Lake to increase grain production. He continued the Alexandria Library and commissioned the Septuagint—the Old Testament translated into Greek by 70 rabbis. He married his sister, a tradition going back to Isis and Osiris and followed by subsequent Ptolemies. ■

Suggested Reading

Peter A. Clayton, *Chronicle of the Pharaohs*, pp. 208–212.

Michael Grant, *From Alexander to Cleopatra*.

Questions to Consider

1. What were the major achievements of the early Ptolemies?

2. What did the Ptolemies want from Egypt?

**Erratum*: On the tape, the professor states that the Pharos Lighthouse was the only one of the Seven Wonders of the Ancient World that was secular; in fact, it was one of the *few* Wonders that was secular, as shown in the outline.

The Middle Ptolemies—The Decline

Lecture 44

We're going to see what in modern terms would be called a dysfunctional family. They murder each other, you know, they're constantly poisoning, stabbing, scalding, butchering each other, literally. And we'll see Egypt slip down and down and down into the mud until it's at the point where, when a great Ptolemy comes along, Egypt almost can't be saved.

Ptolemy III Eugertes was the last "good" Ptolemy (246–222 B.C.). He began the Horus Temple at Edfu, the best preserved temple in all of Egypt. The temple has written on its walls the oldest drama in the world: "The Contendings of Horus and Seth." For 80 years, according to the ancient myth, the two gods did battle, until Horus was finally given Egypt to rule. Each year, the pharaoh would have the play enacted to ensure that divine order prevailed. The temple also has on its walls the ceremony of "the stretching of the cord," the foundation ritual for all temples.

The Decree of Canopus (March 6, 237 B.C.) tells of Ptolemy III's good deeds. Like the Rosetta stone, it is written in hieroglyphs, demotic, and Greek. There were three copies of the decree. When the Nile didn't rise, the decree related, Ptolemy saved the people by buying corn at high prices. He recaptured Egyptian statues of the gods seized by the Persians. The priests vowed to worship his daughter, Berenice, who died young: "Berenice, Lady of Virgins."

Ptolemy III also built the Serapeum at Alexandria, which was dedicated to Serapis, a bearded fertility god. The temple had two fireplaces with pipes going through the walls to channel hot, dry air to various rooms. This may have been the "daughter library" of Ptolemy I's great library, the warm air keeping the papyri dry in Alexandria's moist air. Incoming ships were searched for books, which were copied and then returned to their owners. Ten foundation deposit plaques in the temple were discovered in 1943, inscribed in Greek and hieroglyphs. In 1945, more plaques were found at the corner of a shrine to Ptolemy IV.

Ptolemy IV Philopater (222–205 B.C.) started the decline. He had his mother poisoned and his brother, Magus, scalded to death. He died of excess living at the age 41. His sister-wife Arsinoe was poisoned soon after. The next several pharaohs were inconsequential. Ptolemy V Epiphanes (205–180 B.C.) took the throne as a child. The Decree of Memphis in 196 B.C. (the Rosetta stone) was a thank-you note from the priests to Ptolemy. Ptolemy VI Philomater (180–145 B.C.) fought a civil war with his brother. Ptolemy VII Philopater (145 B.C.) was murdered after one year as king.

They are murdering each other so much that at the end of PtolemyXI's reign, there's virtually no legitimate heir.

Ptolemy VIII Eugertes II (145–116 B.C.) had a more interesting reign. He married the wife of Ptolemy VI but also had a liaison with his niece. Both were Cleopatras, and the relations were so confusing that the people called the women "the sister" (Cleopatra II) and "the wife" (Cleopatra III). The people called Ptolemy VIII "Physicon" ("fatty") because he was so obese. When the Egyptians revolted, he fled to Cyprus. Cleopatra II, his sister, ruled in his absence. He murdered Memphites, his son by Cleopatra II, and sent the dismembered body to her on her birthday. He eventually returned to Egypt and died, leaving two young sons (Ptolemy IX and X.). During his reign, a double temple dedicated to Sobek (the crocodile god) and Haroeris (a form of Horus) was built. It had sacred pools where crocodiles were kept.

Ptolemy IX Soter II had two reigns (116–110 B.C.) and (88–80 B.C.). He began the Temple of Hathor at Dendera. Accused of plotting to kill his mother, he fled to Cyprus. Ptolemy X Alexander I (110-88 B.C.) followed. He was so obese he couldn't walk without help. Ptolemy XI Alexander II (80 B.C.) was the end of a line. He disliked his older aunt, who was popular with the people, and murdered her a couple of weeks after their wedding. Ptolemy was lynched after a 19-day reign. There was now no legitimate descendant of Ptolemy I—they'd killed each other off! ■

Suggested Reading

Edwyn R. Bevan, *The House of Ptolemy*.

Peter A. Clayton, *Chronicle of the Pharaohs*, pp. 213–216.

Questions to Consider

1. What does the Decree of Canopus tell us about Ptolemy III's attitude toward Egypt?

2. What were the signs of decay in the Ptolemaic line?

Animal Mummies

Lecture 45

The Ptolemies were fascinated with animals, especially animal mummies. And what I'd like to do for this lecture is … to detour a little bit; take a side trip from the Ptolemies … .Too many Ptolemies can be lethal. And I'd like to talk about animal mummies during the Ptolemaic period, and about animal mummies in general, because they're usually misunderstood.

The Ptolemies had a continuing fascination with animal mummies, a major industry in ancient Egypt. There was only one animal the Egyptians worshiped as a god. Most Egyptians didn't worship animals, even if some were often associated with gods. Bastet was the cat goddess, for example, but that didn't mean every cat was a god.

The Apis bull, however, *was* clearly worshiped and had the most elaborate of all animal burials. Lightning came down from heaven, struck a cow, and conceived the Apis. It had a diamond on its forehead and wings on its back. The Apis was believed to reincarnate in a different form, unlike the usual Egyptian belief in resurrection. The Apis was mummified like a god. A lone surviving papyrus tells us how it was done, although no such instructions exist for human mummification. Perhaps because there was only one Apis at one time—dying at about 30-year intervals—it was necessary to pass the knowledge down in writing rather than by word of mouth. The Serapeum, burial place of sacred bulls, disappeared for thousands of years until Auguste Mariette discovered it. The bulls were bejeweled and placed in huge sarcophagi, all of which were robbed.

Other animals were mummified to become pets for eternity—one could take "Fido" to the next world. Cats and gazelles were among those preserved. In one case, an X-ray revealed that a mummy thought to be a princess turned out to be a pet baboon. Theodore Davis, in one of his excavations, had a strange encounter with the mummies of a baboon and a dog, placed nose to nose.

Most animal mummies were sacrificed as offerings to the gods. If you wanted to be healed of an affliction, you would make a pilgrimage and buy a mummified animal. At the tomb of Imhotep, the healer, mummified animals were sold, whereupon the priests placed them in niches in tomb walls. Walter B. Emery's excavation of the ibis galleries uncovered millions of mummified birds. The archive of Hor describes the industry of raising, mummifying, and burying these offerings. In Bubastis, there was a cemetery for cats. In the 19th century, the excavating British took a boatload of thousands and had them ground into fertilizer. The sacred fish of Esneh were a bit of a mystery. Why were they mummified? They recalled the fish that had consumed Osiris's phallus in the ancient myth.

We've got these animals that are raised to be sacrificed and are then mummified and given as offerings to the gods. And you know, ibises, falcons, cats—that wasn't all.

Finally, animals were also preserved as food for the dead. Some mummified naturally in the tomb. Ducks in Tutankhamen's tomb were intended as food—call it an "order to go." ■

Suggested Reading

Bob Brier, *Egyptian Mummies*, Chapter 8.

Salima Ikram and Aidan Dodson, *The Mummy in Ancient Egypt*, pp. 131–136.

Questions to Consider

1. What were the reasons for mummifying animals?

2. What was special about the mummification of the Apis bull?

Cleopatra's Family

Lecture 46

Ptolemy XII Neos Dionysos was the illegitimate son of Ptolemy IX. He was called "the bastard" and also "Auletes" (flute player) because he spent more time playing than ruling.

Rome, not Egypt, was now the superpower. Rome's army was the most powerful and disciplined in the world. (We get the word "decimate" from the Roman army.) Although we think of Rome as a seat of culture, compared to Alexandria it was a backward city. The Greeks looked down on the Romans, even if they needed their help. The weak Ptolemies bribed Rome to keep themselves on the throne. Rome went along to keep a supply of wheat flowing into Rome. Egypt became the breadbasket of Rome. Soon, Alexandria was divided into three sections: Jewish, Egyptian, and Greek.

Ptolemy XII's early reign is revealed from a stela inscription. His family, including Berenice, Cleopatra VI, Cleopatra VII, Arsinoe, and two sons, journeyed to Memphis. What did they see? The Serapeum, probably the burial place of the Apis bull, for one. Cleopatra VII was no doubt taken by this trip into the Egyptian past; this young girl would become the only Ptolemy to speak Egyptian.

The Teaching Company Collection.

Antonia Minor, mother of Emperor Claudius.

The Second Triumvirate came to power in the Roman republic: Crassus, Pompey, and Caesar. The consequences for Egypt were great. Ptolemy XII made a deal with them: He bribed the Romans to keep him on the throne. As a result, he taxed so excessively that all Egyptians hated him. He was run out of the country, leaving his daughter Berenice to rule.

Such a succession couldn't have happened in Greece, where women had little power.

Berenice was insecure, given the Ptolemies' history of family treachery. She was married to her cousin, but had him strangled a week after the wedding. She then took a friend as husband and they ruled while her father was exiled in Rome. Cleopatra, meanwhile, was a teenager, growing up in luxury. She spent time in the Alexandria Library. It may be that here she read Herodotus and learned much about the history of Egypt.

The older of the two daughters is Cleopatra VII—our Cleopatra. And she is to rule with her younger brother, who will become Ptolemy XIII, on the throne with her.

After bribing Julius Caesar and others, Ptolemy XII returned to Alexandria with Roman troops, led by Marc Antony. Berenice's husband was killed in battle. Ptolemy wanted to let the body rot but Antony wouldn't permit it and had the body buried. Once Ptolemy was back on the throne, he had his daughter Berenice murdered. There were now Roman troops stationed in Alexandria, the greatest city in the world.

Ptolemy XII proved to be a builder of renown; his legacy was substantial. Philae Island, near Aswan, where Nectanebo I, one of the last native rulers, had built a kiosk, became a favorite place to build. Philae became the Karnak Temple of Ptolemaic Egypt. Philae Temple, although built piecemeal, is a beautiful piece of work. It is dedicated primarily to Isis, who had become the most important goddess in Egypt, considered the wife of Serapis. Philae's temples were all moved when the Aswan Dam was built. Different countries adopted different temples and sponsored their relocation. The entire temple complex was numbered, stone by stone; dismantled; and moved to higher ground.

Ptolemy left a will for the administration of Egypt. The document provided that there would be two rulers of Egypt. His eldest daughter (Cleopatra VII) was to rule with her younger brother, who would become Ptolemy XIII. ■

Suggested Reading

Ernle Bradford, *Cleopatra*.

Laura Foreman, *Cleopatra's Palace*.

Questions to Consider

1. How did Rome influence Cleopatra's father?

2. What were the relations like in Cleopatra's family?

Cleopatra—The Last Ptolemy

Lecture 47

Let's talk a little bit about Cleopatra as a legend. There's a great deal about Cleopatra that is wrong. Let me just say, just wrong. And there's good reason for it. History is written by the victors. The people who win write the history. And Cleopatra lost. It's the Romans who win, and they paint a picture of Cleopatra as this femme fatale … .

Cleopatra, even before she met Caesar, exhibited signs of greatness. She was very bright and active from an early age. She was taken with her father to see the Apis bull, and when she was queen she attended the installation of the new Buchis bull at Hermonthis. She was the first Ptolemy to speak Egyptian. There are no real portraits of her, just coins showing a long nose. (So much for her being a beauty!) According to Plutarch, she was said to have reddish hair.

Pothinus, one of the ruling Egyptian triumvirates, turned the people against her. They rebelled against her, and she fled to Syria, where she raised an army. Pothinus murdered Pompey, who had fled to Egypt from Rome. When Caesar, also in Egypt, learned of the execution, he was appalled.

When Cleopatra decided to come back from exile, her return to Egypt was dramatic. She returned to Alexandria secretly wrapped in a rug. There, she sought to convince the visiting Caesar that she, not her brother, should rule the country. Caesar had never seen a Hellenistic (liberated) woman like Cleopatra, because Roman women were uneducated. During the Alexandrine Wars, she had Caesar execute Pothinus. Then her brother, Ptolemy XIII, drowned trying to escape, which eliminated her competition for the throne. Cleopatra then married her next youngest brother, Ptolemy XIV, who disappears soon after.

Cleopatra's time with Caesar is now legendary. She took Caesar on a Nile cruise on the "Thalamegos" ("the big boat") to impress him—they saw the Pyramids, Thebes, and all kinds of mummies. (Not like Rome at all!) She became pregnant, and Caesar was treated as her consort—a god.

Cleopatra gave birth to a boy, Caesarion, and built a *mammisi* (birth house) at Hermonthis. She was regarded as a goddess; her son, as a god.

Caesar brought Cleopatra and Caesarion to Rome. His wife, Calpurnia, and all of Rome were outraged, but they had never seen anything like Cleopatra and her entourage. Caesar established her in his country villa, giving her legitimacy and suggesting Caesarion as his heir. He held an Egyptian triumph that featured a "cameleopard" (giraffe) and Cleopatra's sister, Arsinoe, paraded in chains. In Rome, Caesar also erected a statue of Cleopatra as Isis, suggesting her divinity. Obsessed with dreams of grandeur, Caesar was assassinated, leaving Cleopatra in a difficult situation. With the death of Caesar, Cleopatra became like Isis, the grieving widow with the divine infant (Horus) to protect. She depicted herself and Caesarion on the wall at Dendera temple as gods.

The last phase of Cleopatra's life was with Antony. Octavian, the heir of Caesar, sent Antony with a shipment of grain to Egypt. At the famous banquet with Antony, Cleopatra gave the guests furniture and gold dinnerware as party

Prints and Photographs Division, Library of Congress, LC-USZ62-12973.

***Cleopatra Testing Poisons*, painting by A. Cabanel (1887).**

favors and drank the pearl from her earring! It was a legendary performance. Antony, impressed, agreed to kill Arsinoe. Antony and Cleopatra in Alexandria formed a small club, the "Inimitable Livers." Cleopatra partied with the lusty Antony and became pregnant with twins: Alexander Helios ("the sun") and Cleopatra Selene ("the moon"). Meanwhile, Antony returned to Rome, where he married Octavia (Octavian's sister), abandoning Cleopatra for three years.

Cleopatra agreed to meet Antony in Syria, and a kind of pre-nuptial agreement was worked out: Antony agreed to marry Cleopatra. In return for financing Antony's war, Cleopatra would get Sinai, Judea, Cyprus, and Arabia and Caesarion would be pharaoh, not Antony or his son.

It's the end. Cleopatra is the last great ruler of Egypt. It's the end of the Egyptian civilization and the end of an incredible story.

Antony's wars went poorly, and Cleopatra brought relief to the troops. Octavia, Antony's wife, tried to help also but was sent back to Rome. The Armenian Triumph was a great spectacle held in Alexandria to celebrate a minor victory. On a silver platform, Cleopatra, dressed as Isis, was declared queen of the territories that Antony had promised her. Caesarion was made coregent and King of Kings. Alexander Helios was given Armenia and Pontia; Cleopatra Selene got Libya; and little Ptolemy received Phoenicia and northern Syria.

Rome feared Cleopatra because Antony was giving Egypt what should have been Rome's. (Antony's will said that he should be buried at Alexandria.) Octavian declared war on Cleopatra, leading to a tragic turn of events. At the battle of Actium, Cleopatra's fleet was blockaded and suffered a major defeat. She sailed to Egypt with her treasury. In the end, Octavian marched on Alexandria, and Cleopatra refused to give Antony to him, beginning to test poisons for her suicide. Intending to kill herself, Cleopatra sent word to Antony of her death. He ran himself on his sword and was brought to her, dying in her arms. Cleopatra, captured by Octavian, was permitted to bury Antony. She died in the company of her handmaidens Iras and Charmian from the bite of the asp. But Octavian had been cheated of parading her as a captive. Thus does the last great ruler of Egypt come to an end. ■

Suggested Reading

Robert Bianchi, *Cleopatra's Egypt*.

Lucy Hughes-Hallett, *Cleopatra*.

Questions to Consider

1. How did Cleopatra differ from her family?

2. Was Cleopatra really a *femme fatale*?

The Grand Finale

Lecture 48

I'm going to try to summarize 3,000 years of Egyptian history in maybe five minutes, because I want to put it all in perspective. I don't like to end on a down note with Cleopatra's death. And I want to show that her death is the end of a great tradition. And I'll even give you a little hope that it might continue … .

After Cleopatra and the end of a long tradition, Egypt suffered a slow death. Cleopatra's children had quite different fates. Caesarion (age 17) had been sent to the Red Sea to sail for India but was betrayed by his tutor and convinced to return to Egypt. He was killed by Octavian. The twins (age 10) and little Ptolemy (age six) were sent to Rome to be raised by Octavia, Antony's widow. Alexander Helios and Ptolemy disappeared from history. Cleopatra Selene was married at age 14 to the King of Mauritania, Juba II, who was kind and scholarly. Their son, Ptolemy, was killed by his cousin Caligula in Rome. Their daughter, Drusilla, married Antonius Felix, Procurator of Judea. Cleopatra may have descendants via her children.

Egypt under the Romans saw the end of her civilization. The priests were not supported, and the Egyptian language died out, but this decay was a slow process. The great library also disappeared from history.

Egypt's legacy to us is considerable. Our 365-day calendar is an Egyptian creation. Paper is an Egyptian invention that changed the world. Although not generally acknowledged, Egypt's religion is central to ours. Monotheism first appeared under Akhenaten. Many Christian rituals and concepts—the trinity, madonna and child, archbishop's crook, pope's miter, incense, resurrection—may come from Egypt.

Egyptology also has a legacy in film and literature. Some of the earliest (and worst) films are Egyptian in theme. *Eyes of the Mummy Ma*, a silent starring Pola Negri, is so bad you can't tell who the mummy is! The classic *The Mummy* (1933), with Boris Karloff, established a tradition and is the best of the lot. Some of the props are replicas from Tutankhamen's tomb. Without

Corel Stock Photo Library

The Pyramids of Giza were among the Seven Wonders of the Ancient World.

Karloff, Universal Studio's sequels didn't develop the mummy's personality, and they suffer because of it. From *Indiana Jones* to *Stargate*, we see the Egyptian tradition again. *The Mummy* (1999) is not a true mummy film in the Egyptian tradition, but it did have some Egyptomania, with canopic jars (five instead of four) and the presence of the scarab, seen as a destroyer instead of a creator. Elizabeth Taylor's *Cleopatra* was a financial disaster—partly because it took such pains to be accurate.

If you go to Cairo, of course, on the outskirts of Giza are the pyramids. You'll see the Great Pyramid.

We see an Egyptological tradition in literature as well. Theophile Gautier's novella *Romance of a Mummy* presents a mummy as a romantic figure. Arthur Conan Doyle's *Ring of Thoth* continues the mummy as a romantic figure. Bram Stoker's *The Jewel of Seven Stars* gives us a killing mummy, but it's a female! The Amelia Peabody novels, written by Elizabeth Peters, a Ph.D. in Egyptology, are on the lighter side, but contain a lot of the history of Egyptology, especially

Flinders Petrie's excavations. Anne Rice's *The Mummy* returns to a romantic mummy and brings us full circle back to the beginning of media images. The nonfiction literature on Egypt is enormous, with primary and secondary sources readily available.

What next? If possible, go to Egypt yourself and walk the land: Cairo, Thebes, Aswan. There are also historical societies to join. The Egypt Exploration Society in England is not just for the British. The Society publishes *The Journal of Egyptian Archeology.* The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago offers a correspondence course in hieroglyphs, various publications, and plenty more. The American Research Center in Egypt (ARCE) is based in the United States (!) and publishes the *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* and holds an annual conference for international Egyptologists. *KMT: A Modern Journal of Ancient Egypt* is a popular Egyptology magazine that everyone seems to love. ■

Hieroglyph	Description	Sound
	vulture	a
	foot	b
	placenta	ch
	hand	d
	arm	e
	horned viper	f
	jar stand	g
	twisted flax	h
	reed leaf	i
	snake	j(dj)
	basket	k

Classical Egyptian Alphabet

Hieroglyph	Description	Sound
	owl	m
	water	n
	mat	p
	hill	q
	mouth	r
	folded cloth	s
	pool of water	sh
	loaf of bread	t
	tethering ring	tch
	quail chick	u / w
	two reed leaves	y
	door bolt	z

Timeline

500,000–3200 B.C. ..... Prehistoric Period.

3100 B.C. ..... Narmer and Unification of Egypt.

3050–2686 B.C. ..... First Two Dynasties.

2686–2647 B.C. ..... Zoser Builds Step Pyramid.

2613–2589 B.C. ..... Sneferu Builds First True Pyramid.

2589–2566 B.C. ..... The Great Pyramid Constructed.

2181–2049 B.C. ..... First Intermediate Period.

2134–1782 B.C. ..... The Middle Kingdom.

1782–1650 B.C. ..... Second Intermediate Period.

c. 1570 B.C. ..... Hyksos Expelled.

1498–1483 B.C. ..... Hatshepsut Rules Egypt.

1386–1349 B.C. ..... Amenhotep III; New Kingdom at Peak.

1350–1334 B.C. ..... Akhenaten and Amarna Revolution.

1334–1325 B.C. ..... Tutankhamen's Reign.

1279–1212 B.C. ..... Ramses the Great.

1080–945 B.C. ..... Dynasty XXI—Priest Kings.

945–715 B.C. ..... Libyans Rule Egypt.

747–664 B.C. ..... Nubians Rule Egypt.

664–525 B.C. ..... Assyrians Rule Egypt.

525–359 B.C. ..... Persians Rule Egypt.

360–343 B.C. ..... Nectanebo II, Last Egyptian Ruler.

343–332 B.C. ..... Second Persian Period.

332 B.C. ..... Alexander the Great Conquers Egypt.

323–30 B.C. ..... Greeks Rule Egypt.

30 B.C. ..... Death of Cleopatra.

Glossary

archaising: An artistic or literary style that imitates techniques of the Old Kingdom.

ba: Part of the soul, usually represented as having the head of a man and the body of a bird.

ben-ben stone: The earliest form of the obelisk, worshiped in temples.

Book of the Dead: A collection of magical spells and prayers intended to help the deceased resurrect in the next world.

canopic jars: Four jars used to hold the internal organs removed at the time of mummification.

cartouche: An oval encircling the name of a king or queen.

cenotaph: A symbolic tomb in addition to the deceased's real place of burial.

Coptic: Christian art and religion as practiced in Egypt.

corbel: An inward stepping of the walls of a room toward the ceiling.

coregency: Two pharaohs ruling at the same time by agreement, usually father and son.

demotic: A later form of writing the Egyptian language used after the 7th century B.C. The word is from the Greek meaning *people*, because it was the secular form of writing, as opposed to hieroglyphs.

determinative hieroglyph: A hieroglyph placed at the end of a word to clarify its meaning.

faience: A ceramic material used for making amulets and tiles.

festival of Opet: A religious festival during which the statues of the gods Amun, Mut, and Khonsu were taken from Karnak Temple to Luxor Temple.

heb-sed festival: A ritual intended to be celebrated every 30 years by the pharaoh to ensure his rejuvenation.

hieratic: The cursive form of writing the Egyptian language derived from hieroglyphs.

hypostyle hall: A room of a temple with columns supporting a roof.

ka: Part of the deceased's soul that is thought of as a double.

kings list: An official list of the kings of Egypt, usually carved on a temple wall.

kiosk: A small, open structure made of stone, usually attached to a temple in honor of a god.

maat: Divine order; also, the Goddess of Truth.

mastaba: A bench-shaped structure above a tomb, especially during the Old Kingdom.

mummy: Any preserved cadaver.

natron: A naturally occurring mixture of sodium carbonate, sodium bicarbonate, and sodium chloride—used to dehydrate the body in mummification.

necrotome: A knife believed to have been used by embalmers ("death knife").

obelisk: A tall shaft of a single stone, usually pink granite. Obelisks were placed in pairs at the entrances to temples.

oracle: A person divinely inspired who foresees the future.

papyrus: Writing material made from the stalks of the papyrus plant.

pharaoh: The divine ruler of Egypt, associated with Horus, the falcon god.

pylon: A monumental gateway or entrance to a temple or palace.

registration: In art works, the practice of having different figures on different levels or registers.

relieving chambers: Small rooms designed to distribute the weight stresses of the pyramid above; also called "stress-relieving chambers."

resurrection: The belief that the body will get up and live again in the next world.

sarcophagus: A stone receptacle for preserving a mummy.

scarab: The sacred beetle. Often amulets were carved in this shape to ensure continued existence.

serekh: A schematic representation of a palace facade with a rectangle above it in which the king's Horus name was written.

sesperonch: A Coptic word for "magician" derived from the ancient Egyptian words "scribe of the house of life."

stela: A round-topped standing stone carved with an inscription.

Stretching the Cord: A ceremony performed at the beginning of the construction of a temple.

Ushabti: Small statues of servants intended to serve the deceased in the next world.

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Societies

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American Research Center in Egypt (ARCE), Emory University, West Campus, 1256 Briarcliff Road, NE, Building A, Suite 423W, Atlanta, Georgia, 30306. Organization of professional Egyptologists and laymen interested in all aspects of Egypt, including Coptic and Islamic. An annual conference is held and a journal (*JARCE*) is published. The following chapters sponsor lectures by Egyptologists and publish newsletters:

> North Texas Chapter: P.O. Box 38642, Dallas, TX 57238
>
> Southern California Chapter: 3460 South Broadway, Los Angeles, CA 90007.
>
> Northern California Chapter: P.O. Box 11352, Berkeley, CA, 94712.
>
> Washington, D.C. Chapter: 3737 Fessenden Street NW, Washington, DC 20016.

Ancient Egypt Studies Association (AESA), 7110 S.E. 29th Avenue, Portland, Oregon, 97202. A group of interested laypersons and professionals with regular meetings, lectures, and a newsletter.

Egypt Exploration Society (EES), 3 Doughty Mews, London WC1N 2PG, London, England. Publishes the *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, as well as a glossy magazine, *Egyptian Archaeology*, and sponsors several lectures in London each year.

Egyptian Study Society (ESS), Denver Museum of Natural History, 2001 Colorado Boulevard, Denver, CO, 80205. Another group of interested laypersons and professionals with meetings, lectures, and a newsletter.

Egyptological Seminar of New York (ESNY), c/o Dag Bergman, 45 Clara St., Brooklyn, NY 11218. Sponsors lectures in New York by visiting Egyptologists and publishes a journal, *Bulletin of the Egyptological Seminar of New York (BES*), and a newsletter.

KMT: A Modern Journal of Ancient Egypt, Dept. G, P.O. Box 1475, Sebastopol, CA 95473. The journal publishes articles on culture, history, personalities, arts, and monuments of ancient Egypt.

Oriental Institute, University of Chicago, 1155 East 58 St., Chicago, IL 60637. Sponsors lectures in Chicago and programs for children and has a correspondence course in hieroglyphs. A newsletter is published, as well as an annual report of the Institute's activities.